

**A CONCISE
HISTORY OF KARNATAKA**
(From Pre-historic Times to the Present)

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Revised English version of
Karnatakada Sankshipta Itihasa
which won Karnataka State Sahitya Akademy
I Prize for humanities, 1973



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A Concise History of Karnataka by Dr. Suryanath U. Kamath,
Dept. of History, Bangalore University, Bangalore — being an
account of the history of Karnataka from Pre-historic times to
the present ; Published by Archana Prakashana, 798, XI Main,
Hanumanthanagar, Bangalore-560 019 ; Pages—324 + viii.

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1980

Price : Rs. 15-00 ; Deluxe : 20-00

Copies can be had from :

Geetha Book House, Mysore-1

Murthy Book House, Mysore-1

Prakasha Sahitya, Cotton Pet, Bangalore-53

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Printed at :

LIPI MUDRANA

1, Bugle Rock Road, Bangalore-560 004

DEDICATED
TO MY REVERED GURU
Dr. G. S. DIKSHIT

WHOSE BLESSINGS
HAVE BEEN MY
SOURCE OF STRENGTH

FOREWORD

I have been engaged in the study and research in Karnataka history for over two decades, and I have made an effort to share with the readers my impressions on the subject in this short book. Most of the publications on Karnataka history have not done justice to the post-Vijayanagara period, and the rule of the Muslim dynasties has been sadly neglected, despite the fact that they have contributed in their own way to Karnataka's life and culture. I have also tried to present cogent accounts of activities of the Marathas and the Mughuls in Karnataka and also given a brief outline of cultural Renaissance in modern period. These sections, together with the accounts on history of the Freedom and Unification Movements have been the results of my researches, published elsewhere, presented here briefly. My researches on the Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Vijayanagara Empire and Keladi are also well known.

I have written several books, big and small in Kannada on Karnataka history, and my *Karnatakada Sankshipta Itihasa* (1973) had won me first prize for humanities of the Karnataka State Sahitya Akademy. The present work is an enlarged and revised English version of the same. This book should have come out in 1975, but unavoidable reasons delayed it. This in fact is a second print.

It covers the syllabii of all the Universities in Karnataka where Karnataka History is prescribed for B.A. But the book is written more in the view of a general reader.

I have dedicated this book to my esteemed teacher Dr. G. S. Dikshit, retired professor of history, Karnataka University and an eminent scholar. I am thankful to him for agreeing

for this humble act of mine. The eminent historians whose ideas I have borrowed here, have been mentioned in the bibliography, and my heart-felt thanks are due to them and to everybody else that has helped me in bringing out the book. I must specially make a mention of Sri N. S. Seetharama Sastry, senior journalist, who had kindly touched up the script.

I crave the indulgence of the readers for the misprints in the book and an errata is also added.

30-5-1980

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ERRATA

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36	15	son	aun
41	2	boulder	boulders
46	6th from below	Kirteivarma	Kirthivarma
48	5th from below	Satyaukya	Satyavakya
50	18	Kaladevi	Kalaladevi
50	18	ascetical	ascetic
75	23	shukhanasa	shukanasa
106	6	aucession	accession
132	15	S. K. Iyengar	B. S. K. Iyengar
178	4	Peddanna	Peddana
193	15	feature	features
220	21	gignatic	gigantic
220	6th from below	place	palace
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Karnataka : Its antiquity and meaning

The earliest reference to Karnataka is in Panini's work where he calls Karnadhaka as the *gotra* of a people. But allusion to this as a territory is found for the first time in *Mahabharatha* the antiquity of whose composition is carried back to at least 2000 years. In 'Bhishma Parva' of the same work it is stated that in the southern parts of India, there are following territories.

*Athapare Janapadah dakshina Bharatharshabha
Dravidah Kerala prachya Mushika Vanavasikah
Karnataka Mahishaka Vikalpah Mushakasthatha....*

But this word Karnataka is found only in the Kumbhakonam Edition of *Mahabharatha* and in the Pune Edition the word Kunthala or Unnathyaka is used as a substitute for Karnataka. Unnathyaka only means an elevated land, the same as Karnataka, as we see later. The name Kunthala was also used for parts of Karnataka.

In the old Sanskrit texts like *Markandeya Purana*, *Bhagavatha* and *Brihatsamhitha* of Varahamihira, Karnataka is pre-eminently mentioned. Similarly ancient Tamil works like *Tolkappiyam* and *Shilappadikaram* have also referred to the people of this land as Karunadars or Karunatakars. Cheran Senguttuvan, the celebrated Tamil king, while on a visit to the Nilgiris is stated to have witnessed a dance of the Karunatakars, according to *Shilappadikaram*, the 7th-century Tamil work. The Birur plates of Kadamba Vishnuvarman say that Shantivarman was "the master of the entire Karnataka region." This record of c. 450 is the first inscriptional reference to the name. Sanskrit poetess Vijayanka or Vijjika calls herself as

"Karnatarajapriya," and she was a Chalukyan queen. The army of the Chalukyas of Vathapi is called Karnatabala in the inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas. Thus the land was known as Karnata from quite a long time, not only in North India but also in the South, especially to the people of Tamilnadu.

An inscription found in Java of a ruler called Srivijaya Airlinga of the 11th century states that traders from many countries including Karnata came to trade in the island. Thus the territory was known of this name even overseas.

Meaning of Karnataka : Scholars have tried to interpret the word Karnataka in various ways. One view is that the original name Kannada which was the name of the land also has been Sanskritised as Karnata. The author of *Kavirajamarga* calls this land as Kannada. So does Kannada poet Andayya. The second view is that it is because of the two tribes namely, Karna and Nat who inhabited the territory that the land came to be so known. According to a third view, held by S. B. Joshi and others, a people called Kan or Kal inhabited this land and that is why the territory came to be known as Kannada. "*Karne + atayati*," "that which resounds in the ear" or in other words, a "renowned land" is given as the original root from which the word Karnataka has been derived. A statement of Sanskrit scholar, Venkatadri is given in support of this interpretation. A fifth view is that the word Kannada is the derivation from *kam + nadu* or *kammittu + nadu*, a fragrant land. Scholars with a poetic bent of mind, feel that the land is full of fragrance of sandal wood trees which are common in Karnataka and that is why the land is called as "one full of fragrance." A popular view is that the land has black soil—*kari + nadu*—and from this the word Karnadu is had. Prof. T. N. Shrikataiah is one of the strong supporters of the view which is held by many more.

But the most accepted view is that the word Karnata is derived from *karu + nadu*, the "big land" or an "elevated land". Major parts of Karnataka are situated in the Deccan Plateau

and are therefore an elevated country. Tamil texts calling this land as Karunat supports this view. To the Tamilians, this land is an elevated land, as it is above the ghats. That is the reason why the Pune Edition of *Mahabharatha* has the word Unnathyaka, meaning the same thing. Prof. Mugali is one of the strong protagonists of this theory.

The author of *Kaviraja Marga*, a work of the 9th century, says that Karnataka extended from the Kaveri to the Godavari. Though Kannada language is not being spoken on the banks of the Godavari to-day, the Kannada inscriptions that are found there in large numbers testify to the fact that Kannada was the spoken language of the people of that area. In fact Kannada was being spoken in almost the whole of the territory where Marathi is being spoken to-day. A civic address presented to Governor Elphinston by the citizens of Bombay in 1818, in fact, was in Kannada. Place names like Kalwa, Dombivli and Devlali in Maharashtra indicate their Kannada origin. The last-named place is called as Devalahalli in a Sevuna inscription. The place of Shivaji's birth, now in Maharashtra, is Shivaneri, meaning hillock of Shiva (like Haveri) in Kannada. *Skandapurana* states that a Karnata Rakshasa was active in Central India and was driven to the South. This indicates that the Kannada language was popular beyond the Godavari in olden days. In the East even a place like Vengi was considered a Kannada territory. Noted Kannada poets like Pampa and Ponna hailed from Vengi. Kannada dynasties like the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas had dominated the whole of the Deccan and the influence of the Kannada language was felt from the Kaveri to the Godavari and even beyond. It is only after the territories to the North of the Krishna fell into the hands of the Bahmanis that Kannada lost its ground in that region.

The Antiquity of the Kannada language : Kannada is among more than 20 languages of the Dravidian group. It is one of the oldest Dravidian languages and it is next only to Tamil in antiquity. The name Isila found in one of the Ashokan

inscriptions in Karnataka has been described as a Kannada word by Prof. D. L. Narasimhachar. According to him it means "throw an arrow". Thus Kannada was a spoken language during the 3rd century B. C. itself. The next important document which helps us to prove the antiquity of Kannada is *The Geography* written by Ptolemy, a scholar from Alexandria, during the first half of the second century A. D. Ptolemy speaks of many places in Karnataka such as Kalligeris (identified as Kalkeri), Modogoulla (Mudugal), Petrigala (Pattadakal), and so on. All these are not only places from Karnataka but are also names of Kannada origin. This proves the antiquity of the Kannada language beyond doubt. A play in the Greek language, written on papyrus and found at a place called Oxyrinchus in Egypt, is believed to contain some Kannada words. In fact certain characters of Greek origin speak a strange language in a strange land, supposed to be India, in the play. Dr. Hultzech felt that these words were of some Dravidian language and he even suggested that the language might be Kannada itself. Later, Dr. Sama Sastry, M. Govinda Pai, and Dr. B. A. Saletore have further argued that the sentences are only in Kannada. But such a view does not have much of a support now-a-days. Dr. Barnett and others have rejected this identification of the language.

But, Kannada is a language with an antiquity of at least 2000 years. The veracity of this claim has been proved by the names mentioned by Ptolemy.

We have an inscription of the 6th century, written in the Kannada language and the Kannada script. This is the famous Halmidi Record of the Kadambas. (For long, scholars were of the view that it belonged to c. 450 A.D. and opinion is still divided over its date). We have the Badami Record of Mangalesha too dated 578 A.D. in Kannada. When we come to the 9th century, we have the Kannada work *Kavirajamarga*, a book on poetics. This work speaks of some earlier poets in Kannada. If there were poets in Kannada earlier than the 9th century, Kannada must have been a fully developed language

by the 5th or the 6th century A. D. and must have been a spoken language at least for a few centuries earlier.

Impact of Physical Features

The present State of Karnataka stretches between 12° and 18° northern latitudes and 74° and 78° longitudes. It is on the south-western part of the Deccan Plateau. Major parts of Karnataka are on this tableland itself, though there is a small coastal strip on the West, separated from the territories on the Plateau by the steep Western Ghats, which have many peaks more than 6000 feet high, like the Kudremukha.

The West Coast, and the ghat region popularly known as the Malenadu, are subject to heavy rainfall from the south-west monsoons, and the rainy season continues for over five months, from the middle of May to October. But major parts of the State on the tableland are in the rainshadow. Though the southern parts of the State have the benefit of the south-eastern monsoons, the northern parts in the Thungabhadra and Krishna Valleys do not benefit so much by them.

The Plateau is more elevated in the West, and slopes towards the East. The Western Ghats are taller than the Eastern. This has made many rivers to originate from the Western Ghats and flow eastwards. The Krishna, its major tributary Thungabhadra, and the Kaveri are the main river systems of Karnataka, which cut across the Plateau, together with a number of tributaries like the Manjira, Karanja, Ghataprabha, Malaprabha, Bhima, Doni, Hagari, Avarji, Varada, Vedavathi, Thunga, Bhadra, Yagachi, Hemavathi, Kapini, Lakshmanathirtha, Uttara Pinakini, Kumudvathi, Shimsha, Palar and Phalguni. There are a number of west-flowing rivers, which are short and flow only across the West Coast. They include Nethravathi, Kumaradhara, Sire, Suvarna, Sitha, Gangavali, Sharavathi and Kali.

Major parts of the Deccan Plateau is black soil region. The northern parts of Karnataka with their dry climate and black soil, grow rich crops of jowar, cotton and groundnuts. Places

with irrigational facility in the region grow sugarcane and paddy. The southern region is noted for its rich crops of ragi. The Malenadu region has thick forests, due to heavy rainfall. The coastal area has rich paddy fields and coconut plantations.

Impact : The Ghats separate the plateau and coast, and in the coastal strip, people have been speaking their own independent languages like Tulu and Konkani, though Kannada has been also known. As the costal area is studded with ports, there has been a lot of commercial activity and intercourse with the foreign people like the Arabs and the Europeans. Sea coast and the overseas trade have made the people on the coast enterprising and adventurous. They have always displayed a spirit of freedom. They tried to free themselves politically from the clutches of the central powers like the Hoysalas, the Vijayanagara monarchs and the Keladi rulers. Islam and Christianity struck roots here much earlier than in other parts.

The Eastern Ghats that have functioned as a line of demarcation in the South between Tamilnadu and Karnataka have helped the Kannada people to hold their own against aggressions from below the Eastern Ghats. The Gangas could resist the Pallavas and the Cholas because of this barrier, and the Kannada language could continue to be spoken in Gangavadi region, free from the "encroachments" of Tamil.

The fertile river valleys like those of the Krishna and the Thungabhadra supported the empires of the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and Vijayanagara. Even during the pre-historic period, these river valleys were centres of habitation. It is here that great towns and cities grew like Talakadu and Shrirangapatna in the Kaveri Valley or Hampi and Anegondi in the Thungabhadra Valley. The Kaveri supported the Gangas, the Hoysalas and the Mysore Odeyars. The fertility of the table-land has made the people of the region strong and well built. It is these sturdy men who manned the fighting forces of the Karnateka empires, and brought great fame to the land under

the name "Karnatabala" in the days of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas.

The Thungabhadra, running across the centre of the State, has been a dividing line politically. The Ashokan empire extended just to the South of this river. The river also helped the Gangas to remain as a separate entity even against the imperial powers of Badami and Malkhed. The territory was divided between the Sevunas and the Hoysalas generally, with this river as the line of demarcation. In the days of Haider Ali and Tipu, the same river was their boundary, with the northern parts of it under the Marathas. That was the border line between the British Presidency of Bombay and princely Mysore in the modern times.

The heavy rainfall in the Ghat region has helped the growth of thick forests, full of teak, rosewood, sandal and other usefull trees. This has fostered various industries. Wood industry including wooden carving has developed. Sandal wood and oil have a world market. Spices like pepper and cardamom were also exported from this region. Climatic conditions of the Ghat region have helped the raising of plantations of coffee and the spices. There have been many waterfalls here, helping the generation of electricity.

The granite and other kinds of rock which are in abundance in Karnataka have inspired the artists of this area to erect magnificent temples and carve captivating pieces of sculpture. Karnataka has been the haven of tourists because of its rich stone monuments here.

Having been in the centre of South India, Karnataka could influence the history of the whole of South India. Kannadigas for centuries dominated the politics of the whole of the Deccan, since the days of the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas. Extension of their territory upto the Narmada helped the Rashtrakutas to successfully interfere with the affairs of North India too. In the days of Vijayanagara the whole of the peninsula to the South of the Thungabhadra was ruled by the

empire. The political predominance of the Kannadigas also helped them to send out dynasties of Kannada origin to rule outside Karnataka. The Senas of Bengal, the Karnatas of Mithila, the Chindaka Nagas of Central India, the Ganges and the Kadambas of Kalinga, the Chalukyas of Gujarat and of Vengi were such royal families of Karnataka origin.

Being at the centre of the Plateau, culturally Karnataka developed an atmosphere of harmony. Here the Dravidian and Aryan cultures met and mingled. It is here, even to-day, the schools of the Northern and the Southern music flourish side by side, to cite only one traditional example. In art too, one finds here both Dravida and Nagara monuments and their hybrid, Vesara style of architecture evolving itself.

A Survey of Sources

The source material for the study of the history of Karnataka is of the same type as that for the history of India. We have to rely mostly on inscriptions not only for the ancient and medieval periods, but to some extent, even for the modern period. Coins are a valuable source material. There are also a number of *kaiphiyats*, *bakheirs* and chronicles, especially pertaining to the Muslim period. There are literary sources too both in Kannada and Sanskrit. Foreign visitors have left behind many valuable accounts.

For the modern period, records in Marathi, Persian, Kannada and English are available in abundance and they are mostly paper documents. The Karnataka State Archives is a great repository of paper documents.

The inscriptions are mostly lithic writings. They exceed 30,000 in number, so far as the history of Karnataka is concerned. They are mostly published in the volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*, and *Indian Antiquary*, and the regular epigraphical series like *Epigraphia Carnatica*, *South Indian Inscriptions*, *Karnatak Inscriptions*, and *Mysore Archaeological Reports*. Though most of these records are found

inside the State only, many of them pertaining to the royal families that have ruled in Karnataka are also found in the neighbouring provinces like Tamilnadu, Andhra, Maharashtra, Goa and even in distant Madhya Pradesh.

The earliest stone records are Ashokan. They are 10 in number, and are found in Chitradurga, Bellary and Raichur Districts, and are in the Prakrit language and the Brahmi script. There are a number of Shatavahana records in the same language and script found in Shimoga, Bellary and North Kanara Districts and also in Maharashtra where they are numerous. The Chandravalli Record of Mayurasharma is also in Prakrit. From the 5th century onwards, we have Sanskrit documents such as the Talagunda Record of the Kadambas and the Aihole Record of Pulakeshin II. The latter is in Kannada script. The last named is one of the earliest records with a Shaka date. Most of the records of the Kadambas, Gangas and the Chalukyas of Badami are in Sanskrit. A good number of the Ganga Records are copper plates. The earliest lithic documents in Kannada are the Halmidi Record of the Kadambas and the Badami Cave Record of Mangalesha which are of the 6th century. The Gangas and the Chalukyas have left a good many records, and mention must be made of the Kanchi Record of Vikramaditya II commemorating his victory over the Pallavas. The Badami Cliff Record, the Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of Mangalesha and the Aihole Record of Pulakeshin II are the most important sources for the study of the Chalukyas. A majority of the documents of the Rashtrakutas are copper plates and mention must be made of the Samangad Plates of Dantidurga dated 754 A.D., the Talegaon Plates of Krishna I, the Jetwayi Plates of Dhruva and the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha. British Museum Plate of Govinda III is one of the earliest copper plates in Kannada.

Of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the records of Vikrama VI are numerous. The Vadageri and Hyderabad Museum Inscriptions help us to fix the date of the era started by him in 1706 A.D. The Raibag Record of 1077 A.D. informs us of his victory over

Dhara. Of the Sevunas, Klachuris and the Hoysalas inscriptions are numerous. The Sangamaner Record of Bhillama II is the earliest of the Sevuna records, dated 1000 A.D. It gives us the details of the rulers of the family. The Bassein Record of Sevunachandra II of 1069 A.D., states that he lifted the fortunes of the family which looked like getting sunk in the ocean of the hostile forces. Scores of records pertaining to the rule of Singhana, Bhillama V, Jaitugi and Singhana II are available. A majority of the records are in Kannada language. More numerous are the records of the Hoysalas. Of the Hoysala records, one at Belur dated 1117 speaks of the early rulers of the family and the early achievements of Vishnuvardhana. There are many records of the dynasty in Tamilnadu.

There are as many as 5000 inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period and of these nearly 300 are copper plates. The latter are mostly in Sanskrit with Nandi Nagari script. Most of their stone records are in the regional languages, and of these those in Kannada are almost half in number. The Sringeri Grant of Sangama Brothers dated 1346 A.D., Beluru Record of Harihara II which mentions the appointment of Mudda Dandanayaka as the Prithvisetty and defines his powers of collecting duties over specific goods from 26 recognised fairs in the empire and Hampi Record of Krishnadevaraya dated 1610 A.D., which commemorates his victory over Adilshah are the most important.

The Odeyars of Mysore and the rulers of Keladi have also left numerous lithic and copper records. Inscriptions continue to be useful source material even for the study of the history of the Muslim rulers like the Bahman Shahis, the Adilshahis and Haider Ali and Tipu. Minor rulers like those of Chitradurga too have left behind numerous stone records. The Maratha rulers in Bangalore, during the 17th century have also left more than a dozen stone records in Bangalore and Kolar Districts. They are in Kannada except the one in the Nandi Fort, of Sambhaji Bhonsle, son of Shivaji. This document is

in Sanskrit. A Persian record at Doddaballapur speaks of the capture of the place by Aurangzeb from Sambhaji.

The stone records are of various types. A majority of them are grants made to temples or scholars. Considerable number of them are *viragals* or herostones, commemorating the exploits of warriors, while fighting an enemy or driving back a cattle-raid. Some of the *viragals* have beautiful sculptured representations of war scenes. Mention must be made of a Ganga record from Begur, preserved in the Bangalore Museum.

Inscriptions generally contain data helping the historian to reconstruct chronology. Many times they contain details like the *tithi* (lunar date), the month, the weekday and other facts. A majority of records in Karnataka contain Shaka Era. There are a few records which contain the Yudhishtira or Kali Era. The Chalukya Vikrama Era initiated by Vikrama VI of Kalyana was popular for almost a century in Karnataka. The Muslim records contain the Hijara. There, are a few lithic records of the 19th and 20th centuries A.D.

Coins : The next important source material are the coins. A large number of coins of the Shatavahanas of silver, lead and potin have been unearthed and they have helped the reconstruction of the Shatavahana chronology. We do not have many coins for the subsequent centuries though we have a few coins of the Gangas (with their royal emblem of elephant struck on them), the Kadambas, the Chalukyas, the Rashtrakutas and the Hoysalas, some them with Kannada legends. When we come to the time of Vijayanagara, coins are numerous. Of the gold coins of Vijayanagara, *varaha*, *pratapa* and *hana* are the most prominent. The Mysore and Keladi rulers also issued coins with Kannada legends and these coins resemble those of Vijayanagara. The Bahman Shahis and the Adilshahis struck coins resembling those of the Delhi Sultans. But their calligraphy is of the southern style. Haider and Tipu also issued coins, with Persian legends, of gold, silver and copper. The latter issued very beautiful coins with greater variety.

Literary Sources : Literary sources are the next important material. The earliest extant Kannada work *Kavirajamarga* speaks of contemporary social and political conditions of Karnataka. Kannada poem by Pampa, *Vikramarjunavijaya* furnishes certain details regarding the Rashtrakutas. Similarly Ranna's, *Gadayuddha* deals with the history of the Chalukyas of Badami and Kalyana. *Chavundaraya Purana* contains information regarding the Gangas. *Keladinripa Vijayam* discusses in detail the history of Keladi family. *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* deals with the exploits of Kanthirava Narasaraja Odeya of Mysore. *Chikkadevaraja Binnapam*, *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam*, *Chikkadevaraja Vamshavali* and *Apratimaviracharite*, help us to know the achievements of Chikkadevaraya, the great ruler of Mysore. *Kumara Ramana Kathe* by Nanjunda contains information on the history of pre-Vijayanagara period. In Sanskrit *Vikramankadeva Charitam* of Bilhana discusses the achievements of Vikrama VI of Kalyana. *Manasollasa* or *Abhinishitartha Chintamani* by Somesvara III of Kalyana also contains valuable information on cultural history. This prince also wrote *Vikramankabhyudayam* narrating the exploits of his father. *Chaturvarga Chintamani* of Hemadri deals with the history of the Sevunas (Yadavas). Jathana's *Suktimuktavali* narrates briefly the achievements of Bhillama V and his father Mailugi. *Gadyakarnamritam* by Vidyachakravartin-II describes the war between Hoysala Narasimha II and the Pandyas. *Madhura Vijayam* by Gangambika, *Saluvabhyudayam* by Rajanatha Dindima I, *Achyuthabhyudayam* by Rajanatha Dindima III and *Varadambikaparinayam* by Tirumalamba are most notable literary sources in Sanskrit for the Vijayanagara period. *Shivatattva Ratnakara*, a Sanskrit encyclopaedia by Basavaraja, a Keladi ruler, throws light on the history of Keladi and also on that of Vijayanagara.

There are many Telugu works on the history of Vijayanagara. *Rayavachakamu* by Viswanatha Nayani, *Manucharithamu* by Allasani Peddana, *Amukthamalayada* by Krishnadevaraya, *Parijethapaharanamu* by Nandi Timmana, *Varaha-*

puranamu by Singayya and Mallayya and *Krishnadevaraya Vijayamu* by Kumara Dhurjati are the most notable.

On the Muslim rulers of the Deccan, the account of Ferishta is the most important. His *Tarikh-e-Ferishta* or *Gulshan-e-Ibrahimi*, deals with, among many other things, the history of the Bahmanis and the Adilshahis. Next important works on the Bahmanis are *Futu-us-Salatin* by Isamy and *Burhan-e-Masir* of Tabataba. Similarly there are accounts on Adilshahs of Bijapur like *Tazqiral-ul-muluk* of Sirazi, *Zaffer-nama Nizamshahi* of Hussain Shauqi, *Alinama* on Ali II, *Ibrahim Nama* by Abdul Dihlavi and *Tarikh-e-Iskandari* of Mulla Nusrati. They are all in the Persian language. *Basatinussalatin* by Jubairi written in 1825 is also a noted history of the Adilshahs in the Persian language. *Nishan-e-Hyderi* by Kirmani is a noted work on Haider Ali.

Foreigners' Accounts: The next group of source material is the accounts left by foreign writers and travellers. *Periplus of the Eritrean Sea* a work by an anonymous author in Latin and Ptolemy's *Geography* (written by this Greek geographer from Alexandria in c 130 A.D.) inform us about the trading connection Karnataka had together with other South Indian States with the Western countries. Cosmos Indikopleistus, an Egyptian sailor in his Greek work, *Christian Topography* speaks Konkan coast. Hiuen-Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese traveller, had visited the court of Pulakeshin II and he reveals interesting details about the conditions of the Chalukyan empire. Tabari, the Arab historian, while writing on the history of the Sassanid empire of Persia, also speaks of the exchange of embassies between Persia and the Chalukyan empire. A number of Arab travellers who had visited West India during the days of the Rashtrakutas also tell us about the empire of the Balharas, i.e., the Vallabhas or the Rashtrakutas that ruled in Karnataka. Foremost among them is Sulaiman who writes in 851 that the empire of the Rashtrakutas was one of the four great empires of the world. Mention

must also be made of the Arab writers like Ibn Haukal, Al-Masudi and Al-Estakhri who speak of the Rashtrakuta empire.

Ibn Batuta, a traveller from Tangier (in modern Morocco) who visited India during the early days of the Vijayanagara empire, speaks of the Karnataka coast, and also of the last days of Hoysala Ballala III. The Vijayanagara empire was fortunate in having a number of European visitors, most important of them being Nicolo Conti, an Italian who came in the days of Deva Raya I, Abdur Razzak from Persia (1442-43), Barbosa (1500-1511), Domingo Paes (1520-22), Fernao Nuniz (1537) and Manuel Barradas (1616), all from Portugal. Paes and Nuniz have left detailed accounts about the empire. Caesar Fredericci gives us some details about the great battle of 1565. John Linschoten (1583) was a Dutch who visited the West Coast. Of the visitors who toured the Deccan Shahi kingdoms, Nikitin, a Russian, who had visited Bidar and Ralph Fitch, an Englishman, who had come to the Adilshahi kingdom are notable. To the court of Keladi came Pietro Della Valle (1623), an Italian and Peter Mundi, an Englishman. They have left detailed accounts behind them. We have a series of writers that inform us about the history of Haider and Tipu. They include Alfred Lyal, Elphinston, Abbe Dubbois and Piexoto to mention only a few. The foreign travellers' accounts have helped us to fill certain major gaps in the history of India and Karnataka.

Pre-historic Period

The pre-historic culture of South India and Karnataka was quite distinct from the one in North India. It compared favourably with the one that had existed in Africa, quite distinct from the culture prevalent in East Asia, North India, China and Java. The pre-historic culture that had prevailed in Karnataka is known as hand-axe culture, and that in the North as Sohan culture.

The earliest find of the stone-age period in India was an hand-axe at Lingasugur in Raichur District discovered by

Primrose in 1842. With this, the study of pre-historic culture received a fillip. But the credit of doing it on a large scale goes to Robert Bruce-Foote who excavated many sites in Tamilnadu, Andhra and Karnataka. Later the work was continued in Karnataka by scholars like Sampat Iyengar, Dr. R. V. Joshi, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Allchin, Dr. Wheeler, Dr. M. H. Krishna, V. D. Krishnaswamy, Dr. M. Seshadri, B. Subba Rao, Dr. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, Dr. A. Sundara and Dr. S. Nagaraju to mention only a few names.

Pre-historic period is generally divided into Old Stone Age or Paleolithic Age and New Stone Age or Neolithic Age. The Old Stone Age is again sub-divided into Lower Paleolithic or Early Stone Age, the first stage of the culture. The last stage in it is Upper Paleolithic. Some scholars have even termed it as a distinct age. This Upper Paleolithic is a transitional stage from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic period, and is called as Mesolithic or Microlithic, the latter name suggestive of small (micro) stone weapons being used during the period. This is followed by Middle Paleolithic.

The pure New Stone Age is not distinctly marked till now in Karnataka because with it began the Chalcolithic Age or the Copper Stone Age, and the Megalithic or the Big Stone Age soon followed when the use of iron was also known. But the use of microlithic weapons continued during the Neolithic Age, when man started using polished stone weapons. With that, the use of copper weapons also became popular. Elsewhere, Chalcolithic and Megalithic Ages are distinct from the Neolithic Age.

Of the Paleolithic sites in Karnataka mention must be made of Kadur, Lingadahalli and Nidaghatta in Chikmagalur District, Thalya and Janakal in Chitradurga District, Nyamati in Shimoga District, Khed, Dhanak Shirur, Manneri and many such centres in the Malaprabha basin in Bijapur District, Daroji, Gandiganur, Halakundi and Nittur in Bellary District and Kibbanahalli in Tumkur District. The stone weapons

found here are mostly hand-axes and cleavers. But they are not flat, but are pebbles. At Nittur, the skeletal remain of a mammal of the pleistocene period was discovered together with these weapons. Most of these weapons were of quartz or quartzite stones. Nothing much can be stated of the man of the Old Stone Age in Karnataka, as few artefacts of the period have been found. This age flourished between 200,000 to 10,000 years before now. At Kibbanahalli and Hunasigi were found hand-axes that resemble those connected with the Acheullian Culture from France. A wooden spike was also found at Kibbanahalli. At this particular site, the remains found are numerous. But the artefacts of various ages have got mixed up and dating them has been a problem. The Old-Stone-Age man was a nomad and a gatherer of food and he hunted animals like the deer and consumed leaves, fruits, tubers and nuts that are freely available in forests. He stayed at river banks and hunted animals that came there in search of water. Many Old-Stone-Age sites in Karnataka must have been destroyed due to the changing of course by rivers. But Kibbanahalli is not on the river bank.

At Hunasigi in Gulbarga District, which is on the banks of a stream, excavations were conducted by Dr. K. Paddayya in 1974 and here implements of lime stone have been discovered in abundance. (Elsewhere, the implements are of dolerite or quartz). The implements include hand-axe, knife and crowbars. These people hunted a variety of animals belonging to the deer family and consumed fruits like *kavalekayi*, *berikayi* and *sendihannu* which are grown in the area even now.

Some Middle-Paleolithic sites (dating back to 200,000 to 40,000 years from now) are found at Sanganakallu, Kovalli (Bijapur Dist.) and Devapur and Hagaragundigi (both in Gulbarga Dist.)

Of the Neolithic Age, the sites at Tekkalakota and Sanganakallu in Bellary District, Maski and Piklihal in Raichur District, Chandravalli and Brahmagiri in Chitradurga District, T. Narasipur and Hemmige in Mysore District, Banahalli in

Kolar District and Hallur in Dharwad District are the most important. There are megalithic remains at Savanadurga near Bangalore. Brahmagiri in Chitradurga, Terdal and Halingali in Bijapur District, Tadakanahalli in Dharwad District and Hirebenakal in Raichur District, to mention only few. People of the Megalithic Age were in the iron age, and they constructed large stone chambers for burial or erected tall boulders as memorial stones over the burial (menhir). They lived in caves and painted the walls and ceiling of these caves.

The man of the Neolithic Age was no longer a mere gatherer of food. He raised crops and tamed animals. He settled down permanently in a place as he was bound to the soil with the rise of agriculture.

Ragi and paddy at Hallur and horse gram (*huruli*) at Tekkalakota have been found amidst other remains. Paddy and ragi were grown all over, and in northern parts of Karnataka, wheat was also grown. Of the domesticated animals, mention must be made of cows, dogs, goats, sheep and fowl. Their bones are found in abundance. At Sanganakallu, the bone of a horse is unearthed. At T. Narasipur, fossilated bone of a buffalo is seen.

Though men lived in caves or under shades of rocks during earlier periods, they constructed thatched huts during the Neolithic period. Post holes have been found in many sites. At Tekkalakota and Hallur there were huts constructed on a single post, resembling an umbrella, and the floors of such houses were beaten and made hard by the spreading of pebbles. Some of the huts were square and their walls were only twig fencings smeared with mud. Remains of such houses are also found at Brahmagiri and Sanganakallu. A small dip in ground, used as the fire place, perhaps for heating, is found in one of the huts at Hallur.

Large earthen vessels, resembling baskets were produced. Much of their pottery is hand-made (not wheel-turned) and grey, red and occasionally black wares are found. Only in the

Krishna basin, wheel-turned grey and red wares are found, but only in small number. Large pots were made not only to store grains, but also for burial. Variety of earthen vessels like pots, jars, cups, plates, perforated vessels etc. have been found. At T. Narasipur, a earthen neckrest with a bottom resembling a wine cup has been found in a tomb. The pottery was painted in purple or black colours especially in Chalcolithic ware. In North Karnataka, they were painted in black, and in some cases thin white colour was used. The painted *motifs* include a variety of designs and animals like fish, stork, dog, peacock, deer etc. Designs were also engraved in relieve.

Fine polished hand-axes, fish-hooks, scrapers, pestles, crowbars, chistles, rubbers used for grinding, sockets and a variety of stone implements have been found. At Sanganakallu, a workshop producing stone-axes appears to have existed. Bone implements have been found at Maski which include chistles and arrow-heads. One such arrow-head made of deer's horn is found at Hallur. Copper axes have been seen at Tekkalakota and Hallur, and a large variety of copper and bronze weapons have been found at Brahmagiri. Mention must be made of a copper fish-hook from the latter place. Slowly iron also appeared beginning with c. 800 B.C., and the earliest remains of iron are found at Hallur.

Bangles, rings, necklaces of beads, ear-rings and other such ornaments were being used. These ornaments were made of stone, bone, ivory, copper and gold. Ear-rings of gold have been found at Tekkalakota. A large amount of copper ornaments were found at Brahmagiri. The mud-beads and those of semi-precious stones like jasper and agate were also in abundance. At Maski a piece of copper bangle is seen.

The dead were buried with head laid towards the North or East. Small children were buried in pots (urns) as seen at Brahmagiri. Inner surface of these urns were smeared with red soil. At times four or six pots were joined by breaking their bottoms, and the dead was placed in them, after joining them. Such burials are found at Tekkalakota. Various belong-

gings like vessels, foodgrains, weapons, jewels etc., were buried together with the dead. This shows their belief in life after death. A tomb with the skeleton of a woman has been found at T. Narsipur.

Large mounds of burnt ashes have been found in many Neolithic sites in Bellary District and other places. The material burnt in the ash mounds seems to be cowdung. These mounds appear to have been remains of iron smelting. Some interpret them as the remains of some religious rite. This Neolithic Age extended from 9000 B.C. to 800 B.C.

During the last phase of the Neolithic Age there appeared the Megalithic culture, whose remains have been found all over Karnataka. Iron became popular during the time. Long swords, sickles, axes, hammers, chistles, spikes, horse-bits, arrow-heads, plate with a handle, all made of iron are found all over. Their stone chamber tombs have such remains preserved. These stone chambers have an opening at the top, or at the front. In some places, earthen coffins with short legs were used for burial. They are provided with a lid. Known as sarcophagus, they are seen at Brahmagiri.

At Hirebenakal, Piklihal and many other places, paintings of the Neolithic Age have been found. They include men mounted on horse, men assembled in groups with hands held together to form a circle, and long-horned bulls. Some hunting scenes are also depicted. These paintings are done in red soil (ochre). Some scholars have interpreted these *motifs* as having religious significance.

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY AND THE SHATAVAHANAS

The historic period (of written records) begins in Karnataka only from about 500 B.C. Though the ten Ashokan edicts are the only inscriptions of this period, we have literary traditions of at least two centuries earlier to these records, giving us a few glimpses of the history of the period earlier to the days of Ashoka.

Mention must be made of a few mythological accounts connected with Karnataka. It is stated that Agastya came to the South, making the Vindhyas bow and make way to him. Perhaps he was the first Aryan missionary who reached the South, after crossing the Vindhyas, which were considered impregnable by the people from the North. The Kaveri is described as his bride. The West Coast of peninsular India is believed to be the creation of Parashurama. (Whether the tradition is true or not, geologists agree that this coastal strip emerged from the sea, far later than the Plateau and the ghats). There are places in Karnataka described as connected with puranic personages like sage Rishyashringa, Jamadagni, Dattatreya and Galava. The Hampri region is described as Kishkindha mentioned in *Ramayana*, the abode of Vali and Sugriva. Hanagal is believed to Viratapuri of *Mahabharatha* days. Proper explorations and excavations at such sites are likely to reveal many details of the pre-historic period.

The Nandas and the Mauryas

The Nandas who ruled from Patalipura in Magadha are believed to have ruled over parts of Karnataka also, according to certain literary accounts. *Singirajapurana* a Kannada work of c. 1500 A.D., while speaking of Pattadakal, states that the area was ruled by the nine Nandas. Some 11th century Kannada records also state that Kunthala was subject to the

rule of the Nandas. Though these accounts are of a later date, they can be relied upon as the Mauryas, successors of the Nandas, did rule over parts of Karnataka. They had succeeded to the whole dominion of the Nandas.

Certain 7th-century inscriptions from Shravanabelagola state that Chandragupta Maurya abdicated the throne and came down to Shravanabelagola with his teacher Bhadrabahu and that he had accepted Jainism and become an ascetic. He died at this Jaina centre of pilgrimage. The place where the king is believed to have stayed is called Chandragiri and there is a *basti* named after him. But M. Govinda Pai argues that the person that came down to the South was Samprati Chandragupta, a successor of Ashoka, and not Chandragupta, the founder of the dynasty.

Anyway, parts of Karnataka were definitely included in Mauryan empire. Ten Ashokan edicts are found in Karnataka and of them, three are in Chitradurga District, indicating that the empire extended upto that region in the South. This shows that major parts of northern Karnataka were under the Mauryas. These inscriptions were written in c. 259-58 B C. The Maski and Nittur Edicts mention the name of Ashoka.

These edicts are religious in character, and the only information we have from these is that there were two Ashokan mahamatras stationed in Karnataka, one at Suvarnagiri (identified as Kanakagiri in Raichur District) and the other at Isila (probably Brahmagiri) in Chitradurga District. We also know from *Mahavamsa* that Ashoka had sent one Buddhist missionary to Vanavasa (Banavasi).

If we are to accept that it was Ashoka's grandson Samprati Chandragupta who had come down to Shravanabelagola, we can conclude that these parts had been under the Mauryas till the rise of the Shatavahanas.

That the rule of the Mauryas saw the advent of Jainism and Buddhism into Karnataka is clear from this survey. Jainism made major contributions to the cultural life of Karnataka.

The Shatavahanas

The first major royal dynasty in the recorded period of history from Karnataka is that of the Shatavahanas. *Puranas* like *Mathsya*, *Vishnu* and *Bhagavata* are the chief sources of information on this dynasty. There are also a number of inscriptions written mainly in the Prakrit language and Brahmi script engraved in various *chaityas* and *viharas* of the dynasty found at Karle, Nasik, Kanheri and other places. The next important source material are the innumerable coins of the Shatavahanas. They ruled over the Deccan and their empire appears to have extended from the Konkan coast in the west to the Godavari and the Krishna deltas in the East. In the South their domain extended beyond the Thungabhadra to at least Chandravalli. *Puranas* like *Mathsya* give a list of 30 kings of this dynasty and say that they ruled for a period of 460 years. *Vayupurana* speaks of 17 princes who ruled for 300 years.

Scholars like Buhler have placed their initial year as 200 B.C. But Dr. D. C. Sircar feels that their rule started from 30 B.C. He supports his view by giving two reasons: One is the account given in the *Puranas* regarding the rule of the various royal families. According to this calculation the Mauryas ruled for 137 years, followed by the Shungas for 112 years. They were succeeded by the Kanvas whose total period of rule was 45 years. Thus the total duration of the reigns of these three dynasties was 294 years. Dr. Sircar deducts this figure from the initial date of Chandragupta Maurya, 324 B. C. and thus fixes the initial date of the Shatavahanas as 30 B.C. This date, he regards, as the time when the first ruler of this dynasty had overthrown the last Kanva ruler. Dr. Sircar also quotes paleographic evidence in support of his new date. Coins of the first ruler of the dynasty Simukha, with the legend 'Chimuka' have been found in Karimnagar District of Andhra Pradesh. The paleography of the legend supports the date fixed by Dr. Sircar.

The first ruler of the dynasty, Simukha, is described as "Andhrajateeya", that is, belonging to the Andhra race. They are also called "Andhrabhrityas". Some scholars interpret this as "servants of the Kanvas from Andhra" and others feel that they originally belonged to Karnataka and served some Andhra ruler. As Simukha's coins were found in Karimnagar District, the question of their Andhra origin is settled.

The capital of Simukha was Pratishthana, modern Paithan in Maharashtra. The first ruler is called as Raja Simukha Shatavahana in the Nanaghat Inscription. He is called *vrisala* in the Puranas, a term that has been subject to various interpretations such as a Shudra, an Aryanised foreigner, a non-Aryan and so on.

A later record (Nasik Inscription of Gautamiputra) calls the family as "eka brahmana" (unique brahmana) and a "destroyer of the pride and haughtiness of the Kshatriyas" ("*Kshatriyareja darpamana damana*"). This shows that they were brahmins.

Simukha was succeeded by his brother Krishna and Krishna by Simukha's son Shatakarni. This prince was a powerful ruler and he performed *Ashvamedha*, *Rajasuya* and other sacrifices. Many rulers are placed between Shatakarni and Gautamiputra by the *Puranas*. But Dr. Sircar feels that some of these rulers like Apulaka and Hala belong to collateral branches, the first belonging to a line ruling from Madhya Pradesh and the latter ruling from Kunthala. Dr. Bhandarkar also holds the same view. He feels that there were three branches of the family. The elder one at Dharanikota in Andhra, the younger at Paithan and the third at Banavasi. For the period of about a century the Shatavahanas appear to have suffered an eclipse owing to the encroachment of the Shakas.

It was in the days of Gautamiputra that the fortunes of the family were restored. A later inscription of Pulumavi found at Nasik calls Gautamiputra as the restorer of the Shatavahanas.

kula and the destroyer of the Shakas, Yavanas and the Pahlavas. He appears to have overthrown Nahapana, the Shaka ruler. He is also described as the ruler of Aparanta, Anupa, Saurashtra, Kukura, Akara and Avanti. These areas he appears to have conquered from Nahapana.

The king ruled over the whole of the Krishna basin and to its South, and over Saurashtra and Malava in the North. Berar and Konkan were also parts of his empire. Major parts of modern Karnataka also were included in his kingdom. The period of his reign has been fixed as 106 to 130 A.D. Inscriptions describe him as handsome and an asylum of virtues.

Before his death, Gautamiputra appears to have lost much of the territory that he had conquered from Nahapana to another group of foreigners, the Kardamakas. Ptolemy, the Greek geographer speaks of Baithana as the capital of Polemaios. This indicates Paithan, the capital of Sri Pulumavi.

Gautamiputra was succeeded by his son Vashishtiputra Pulumavi who ruled from c. 130 to 159 A.D. He established blood relationship with the Kardamakas as made known by the Kanheri Record. This prince is the brother of Pulumavi and the king with whom he established blood relationship is Rudradaman. Vashishtiputra extended his territory in the East to Amaravati and the Krishna delta region. He was succeeded by Sivasri Satakarni (A.D. 159 to 166) followed by Sivaskanda (167 to 174) and Yajnyashri (174 to 203). The last named tried to reestablish the fallen fortunes of the family by warring with the Shakas and regaining some of the lost territories. Two records of his are found at Kanheri. This shows that he had reconquered Konkan. His sway over the Andhra coast was also intact. After his death the empire appears to have split. Vijayachandra and Puloma are described as successors in the main line. After Puloma, Rudrashatakarni ruled and he is known only by his coins and he is not mentioned in the *Puranas*. Ikshvakus appear to have taken possession of the territory in coastal Andhra.

Certain collateral branches were ruling simultaneously with the main line. One such line was ruling in Kunthala, a part of modern Karnataka. Kunthala Shatakarni and Hala were the important rulers from this branch. The latter was a poet. Perhaps Banavasi was the headquarters of this line.

There were two other branches of Shatavahanas ruling from Vidarbha and from South Kosala (modern Chattisgarh). The Shatavahanas successfully resisted the efforts of Shakas to overpower South India.

Administration : The Shatavahanas had a simple administrative organisation. Local administration had been left largely to various feudatory lords. But local royal officials regulated the affairs of these feudatories. Kingship was hereditary in the male line. There were three types of feudatories, viz. *rajas* who struck coins in their own names, *mahabhojas* and *maharathis* who were blood relations of the royal family in the western parts of the empire, and *mahasenapathis* or military governors who were posted at certain outlying centres.

Ahara was the chief administrative division of the empire. An official called *amatya* looked after the *ahara*. Village was the smallest unit, looked after by an official called *gramika*. Inscriptions also mention an official called *mahamatra*.

Society : The Shatavahanas were followers of the Vedic religion and performed various sacrifices like *ashwamedha*. They recognised the *varna* system as described in the Vedas. In addition to the four traditional castes or *varnas*, a number of sub-castes on occupational basis were being formed in the society, such as *gollikas* (shepherds), *halikas* (ploughmen), *kolikas* (weavers), *swarnakaras* (goldsmiths), *malakaras* (garland makers), *chamakaras* (cobblers) and so on. The foreign races like the Shakas came to be assimilated in the society. The names like Rudradaman or Rishabhadatta indicate this tendency.

Women are mentioned prominently in the inscriptions as making munificent grants for religious centres. This indicates

the prominence they enjoyed in the society. Many Shatavahana queens appear to be followers of Buddhism, though the princes followed Vedic religion. This shows the freedom enjoyed by the women. By the grants they made, it appears that women owned properties. The frescoes of Ajanta and sculptures found in their various monuments also indicate the prominence the woman had in the society.

The sculptures give us an idea of their dress, jewellery and household life. People wore scanty dress and profuse ornaments. Ear-rings, bracelets, bangles, finger-rings, necklaces, anklets and girdles were worn by women. Men also wore ornaments like ear-rings, necklaces and anklets. Both men and women wore head dress like turbans. Jars, plates, chairs, tables, stools, beds and other household furniture with beautiful and artistic designs engraved on them are also found in these representations in art.

Economic conditions : No doubt, agriculture was the mainstay of economy and land revenue was the main source of royal income. Trade and commerce also flourished and there were a number of towns and cities which were busy centres of commerce. They were protected by high walls. Paithan, Tagare, Banavasi, Amaravati, Nasik, Karahata, Pattadakal, Badami etc. were some of the important inland commercial centres as indicated by the *Geography* of Ptolemy and inscriptions. There were great ports like Barygaza (Broach), Sopara, Kalyana etc. Periplus informs us about the visit of western ships to Broach. It was a period of great commercial activity and the empire had commercial contacts with the Roman empire. They exported cloth, muslin, cornelian, spices and pearls. Their imports included wine, glass and sweet clover.

Merchants and people of various professions organised themselves into guilds known as *nigamas* or *shrenis*. The Junnar Record speaks of the *dhanikashreni* or guild of corn dealers. An epigraph from Nasik speaks of *kolikanikaya* or the guild of weavers. There were similar guilds of oil-

monger, blacksmiths, druggists, bamboo workers, scribes and so on. Each guild had an elderman or *sethi*. The affairs were regulated at an office called *nigamasabha*. The guilds also functioned as banks. They accepted deposits from various religious organisations and paid interest annually. This amount was used for services of those religious organisations. The rate of interest varied from 5% to 7.5%. The guild advanced money to its members and helped commercial and industrial activity. Merchants made generous grants to religious centres. A *shreshthin* from Vijayanti (Banavasi) caused the construction of the *chaitya* at Karle.

Coins of silver, lead, and potin (an alloy of silver and lead) were in currency. Roman coins also were in currency in the empire.

Religious conditions : The Shatavahanas followed the Vedic religion as already noted. They performed various *yajnyas* or sacrifices. They also encouraged Buddhism by making generous grants and by constructing and maintaining *viharas* and *chaityas*. Rock-cut architecture of this period is found at Nasik, Karle and Kanheri. Buddhist monuments are also in abundance at Amaravathi and other surrounding places in Andhra. Hala's work starts with a prayer to Shiva. Temples of Gauri are also mentioned in the work. Indra, Surya, Chandra, Vishnu, Vasudeva, Ganesha etc. were worshipped. Shiva temple at Talagunda existed in the days of the empire. Sannati (Gulbarga Dist.) was a flourishing centre of Shakti worship. A number of agraharas were founded to encourage learning. Of these Talagunda agrahara in Shimoga District is one.

Language and Literature : Prakrit was the official language of the Shatavahanas and all their inscriptions are in the Prakrit language and the Brahmi script. But when we examine Ptolemy's *Geography* we find that many place names in the Shatavahana empire such as Pattadakal etc. were in Kannada and Kannada must have been the popularly spoken language. In the Prakrit works of the period Kannada words like *potte*, *tuppa* etc. are found. Prakrit literature flourished

during the period and we have *Gata Sattasati*, a collection of 700 Prakrit erotic verses in Arya metre supposed to have been composed by Hala. *Brihatkatha* by Gunadhya in Paisachi Prakrit was written during the period and it contains a number of romantic tales. It is known by its later Sanskrit translations by Kshemendra and Somadeva. Sarva Varman, the author of the work on Sanskrit Grammar, *Katantra Vyakarana* was patronised by one Shatavahana monarch.

Art & Architecture: The Shatavahanas were great builders. The works of their period are a landmark in the history of art and architecture. There are three types of buildings of this period. They include *chaityas*, *viharas* and *sthupas*.

The earliest monuments are *chaityas* and *viharas*, called as caves. But Mr. Percy Brown has suggested the name rock architecture for these monuments. Rock architecture was specially suited to India, because of the convenient physical texture of rocks. A *chaitya* is a long hall and a place of prayer. It is rectangular and round at the rear, longitudinally divided into two colonnades. There is a broad hall or nave at the centre and two aisles beside the colonnades. The rounded rear or the hall is the apse where is set a small *sthupa*. The nave is covered by a barrel-shaped vault. The two aisles are also covered similarly. There is a doorway opposite the *sthupa* and a huge arched window, shaped like a horse-shoe (described as symbolic of *bodhipatra*), above the door. The *chaityas* at Bedsa and Karle are the earliest works of the Shatavahana period. Their columns are vase-shaped at the bottom and their capitals are surmounted by a group of animal and human figures. The *chaitya* at Karle is the largest and the best among all the shrines of the period. Its hall is 124 ft. long, 46½ ft. wide and 45 ft. high. This *chaitya* has a beautiful facade engraved in two stages. The lower wall has three doorways, and the upper wall has an arched window. Further outside stand two monolithic *stambhas*, each with a capital of four lions which once supported a wheel. The wheel deflected

the glaring sunshine gleaming through the horse-shoe window. They are responsible for the "soft luminous atmosphere" inside the *chaitya*. There is also a *chaitya* at Kanheri, only 2/3 in size of that at Karle.

The Cave No. 9 at Ajanta has a square rear unlike others which are apsidal. The facade of the *chaitya* at Nasik is richer and more ornamented.

There are also *chaityas* of the period at Kondane, Junnar, Panhala and other places. The *viharas*, also called *sangharamas*, are monastic houses, generally excavated near the *chaityas*. They are the places where the monks resided and meditated. They have a dormitory, a central common room and individual cells surrounding the central hall. The Cave No. 12 at Ajanta is one of the earliest simple monument. It is single-storied, and is followed in chronological sequence by the one at Kondane, and that at Nasik. The last named is renowned for its decorations among the single storied *viharas*. The *vihara* at Bedsa has a square rear and the one at Nasik is apsidal. There is a storied *vihara* at Karle.

The *sthpas* of the Shatavahana period are found mostly in Andhra. They are seen in an area of about 75 miles around Eluru. The most notable among them are those at Goli, Jaggayyapeta, Bhattiprolu, Ghantasala, Amaravathi and Nagarjunakonda. Many of them are earlier ones, but renovated in the days of the Shatavahanas. The *sthpas* at Amaravathi is the largest and appears to have been reconstructed in the days of the Shatavahanas. They have some of the finest sculptures displaying the Sanchi tradition. Bodhisatvas and the Buddha are represented here actually, and not as mere symbols. Certain amount of Roman influence is also traced in the Amaravathi sculptures. The most famous among the *motifs* of Amaravathi is the medallion depicting the taming of an elephant, now preserved in the Madras Museum. The *sthpas* has representations of walled cities, palaces, buildings, terraces and *sthpas*. The remains of a brick *chaitya* at

Chandravalli and of a *stupa* at Sannati in Karnataka can be mentioned here.

Cave Nos. 9 and 10 of the Shatavahana period at Ajantha contain paintings. But they are of a later date, of the 6th century.

The Chutus: The Chutus were the relations of the Shatavahanas and were ruling from Banavasi, an important city of Karnataka of great antiquity. Four inscriptions of this dynasty have been found. They were the feudatories of the Shatavahanas and they called themselves as Hariputras as the Shatavahanas also did. The Kanheri Inscription informs us that they were Mahabhojas of the Shatavahanas. This inscription is a grant made by a daughter of Vinhukada Chutukulananda, ruling from Banavasi and he had a daughter called Nagamulanika who was a Mahabhoji. Her son, Shivaskanda Varman, later succeeded to the throne of Banavasi. Some scholars are of the view that during the days of this prince, the Chutus became the subordinates of the Pallavas.

A record from Hirehadagali (Bellary Dist.) of this time states that Pallava Shivaskanda Varman ruled over the region.

CHAPTER III

THE KADAMBAS AND THE GANGAS

The Kadambas ruled from Banavasi between the 4th and 6th centuries. They have called themselves brahmins, belonging to Manavyasa *Gotra* and the sons of Hariti. This makes one feel that they were related to the Shatavahanas, or at least to the Chutus who ruled from Banavasi. Their royal emblem was lion. Inscriptions are the chief source for outlying their history.

Origin : Inscriptions, especially of the 11th and the 12th centuries, narrate many interesting stories regarding their origin. The Devagiri Plates of Krishna Varman I connect his family with the Nagas. But, according to one story found in the inscriptions, the family derived its name from Trinethra Kadamba, a prince who had three eyes and four arms. He was born at the bottom of a Kadamba tree from a drop of the sweat that fell from God Shiva's forehead. Mayura, the first ruler of this dynasty, is described as the son of this Trinetra.

According to a second story, Mayura Varman was the son of Shiva and the Earth Goddess, and he was born under a *kadamba* tree. "As he was born with an eye in his forehead, the crown was not bound there as it would cover it up, but it was bound on near his knee, where it would show well", says a record and adds that as he grew under the shadow of the *kadamba* tree, his family came to be known as the Kadamba family. A third story states that Mayura Varman was the son of a sister of one Jaina *thirthankara* and he was born under a *kadamba* tree. According to a fourth account king Kadamba was the child of Siva and Parvati, born under *kadamba* tree.

But the Talagunda inscriptions of crown prince Shanti Varman of c. 450 A.D. state that the progenitor of the family was Mayura Sharman and that the *kadamba* tree which grew near his home gave the name Kadamba to the family. It also

states that he had gone to Kanchi for education with his *guru* Veerasharman. Scholars had taken this Veerasharman to be the teacher of Mayura. But the recently discovered Gudnapur Inscription makes it clear that Veerasharman was Mayura's grandfather (the word *guru* also means an elder, i.e., father, grandfather etc.). The Gudnapur Record makes it clear that Mayura's father was Bandhushena and he had developed the character of a kshatriya. The Halasi plates of Ravi Varman also mention Bandhusena. Fleet had interpreted this as referring to some Jaina *muni*. But the Gudnapur Record shows that he was the father of Mayura. The Talagunda Record informs us that the family was known by the name Kadamba because of a *kadamba* tree that had grown near their house. Calling families after certain trees is not unknown in South India, and the custom is prevalent in South Kanara District even to-day.

Thus, all the legends narrated in later inscriptions regarding the origin of the family are laid to rest. The Kadambas claim a North Indian descent, at a later date, only from the 11th century. This claim is found in the records of the Kadambas of Hangal and Goa.

Both the Talagunda and Gudnapur Inscriptions say that the Kadambas were of Manavya *Gotra* and were Hariputras.

Mayura Sharman: The first ruler of the dynasty, Mayura Sharman, was the son of Bandhushena and the grandson of Veerasharman. Mayura was well-versed in all the Vedas and Vedangas. He had gone to Kanchi, the capital of the Pallavas which was a *ghatikasthan* or centre of learning. The Pallavas ruled parts of Karnataka in those days and Talagunda, the home of Mayura, was a part of the Pallava kingdom. Mayura was highly enraged on being humiliated at the *ashvasanstha*, interpreted as horse sacrifice. This made him discontinue his studies, leave Kanchi and take to the life of a warrior. "That the hand dexterous in grasping the *kusha* grass, fuel and stones, ladle, melted butter and the oblation vessel, unsheathed a flaming sword, eager to conquer the

earth", is the sentence by which the sudden change of his giving up the career of a brahmin and taking to that of a kshatriya is described in the Talagunda record. He succeeded in establishing himself in the forest of Shripurvatha region after defeating the *antharapalas* or guards of the Pallavas. This Shripurvata is identified by some with Shrisailam. He subdued the Banas and other kings and levied tribute on them. His predations caused much havoc in the Pallava realm and the Pallavas failed to subdue him. They were forced to recognise him as king over the regions stretching from the Western Ocean to the river Prehara. Initially, he appears to have accepted the overlordship of the Pallavas, but later threw off their yoke and became a sovereign monarch.

Scholars like Dr. Moraes, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Śastry and others have felt that Mayura availed himself of the confusion that was created by the invasion of Samudragupta who, in his Allahabad Inscription, claims to have defeated, among others, Vishnugopa of Kanchi. Taking advantage of the weakening of the Pallava power, Mayura appears to have succeeded in establishing a new kingdom. A record of the 11th century from Talagunda says that he had performed 18 *ashvamedhas*. This statement appears to be incorrect, because no earlier records speak of such acts.

His Chandravalli Record says that he conquered the Traikutas, Abhiras, Pallavas, Pariyathrakas, Shakasthana, Maukharis, Punnata and Sendrakas. The Sendrakas ruled in the Shimoga region and Punnata was the Heggadadevanakote region. The Traikutas were ruling in South Gujarat and Konkan and the Abhiras were their neighbours. It is quite likely that Mayura gained some territories from these two last dynasties. The Pariyathras who ruled in the Vindhya region, the Maukharis who ruled in Rajasthan and the Shakas who were in North-West India, were all not within the reach of Mayura, and his claim that he defeated them appears to be far fetched.

Mayura was a great warrior and organiser. Though a brahmin by birth, he accepted the career of a warrior, organised an army and founded a new kingdom. He has pride of place in the history of Karnataka. If we accept the fact that he came to power after the defeat of the Pallavas by Samudragupta, sometime after 340 A.D., we can safely say that Mayura came to the throne in c. 350 A.D.

Mayura was succeeded by Kangavarman in c. 365 A.D. He is described as receiving obeisance from a number of chiefs and he had to face terrible wars. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil feels that the Kunthala ruler described as defeated by Vakataka Prithvisena must be this Kadamba prince. Still Kangavarman appears to have maintained his freedom. He was succeeded by Bhageeratha, his son, who is described as 'born secretly in the Kadamba family', according to the Talagunda record. This indicates that Kangavarman had lost his kingdom and Bhageeratha was born when he was away from the capital. Perhaps, the birth of this prince was not known to the people for long. Bhageeratha is described as "the sole lord of the Kadamba land", and "the great Sagara himself", only to indicate that he retrieved the fortunes of his family.

His son Raghu, who succeeded him, is described as having punished the enemies of the kingdom, and like Prithu, secured the land to be enjoyed by the members of his own family. After a short reign he was succeeded by his younger brother Kakutstha Varman. The date of Bhageeratha's rule can be fixed as c. 390-415 and of Raghu c. 415-435. Kakutstha Varman must have ruled between 435-455. The Talagunda inscription is of crown prince Shanti Varman who must have also been joint ruler (as the record calls him *nripathi*).

Kakutstha Varman : Kakutstha was acting as *yuvaraja* in the days of his brother Raghu. The Talagunda Inscription and the Halasi Copper Plate are the two important records of his period. "It may rightly be said that it was during the reign of this king that Kadamba empire reached the acme of its greatness", says Dr. Moraes. The Talagunda Record calls him

the ornament of the Kadamba family and the one who had distinguished himself in the field of battle. He was kind to the needy and protected his subjects, lifted up the humble and thus had won the love and esteem of the people, according to the Record. His palace is described in the following words : "It was filled with hoards of various kinds of wealth ; its towers were scented with ichor from lusty elephants. In such a place Goddess Lakshmi, steady and contented, enjoys herself". Visitors to the kingdom felt assured of the safety of their life and property, says the Record.

An interesting aspect of his foreign relations was his having married his daughters to some of the leading royal families like the Guptas as suggested by the Talagunda Inscription.

Literary sources also support this statement. Kshemendra, the noted Sanskrit scholar, in his work *Auchitya Vichara Charcha* quotes certain portions of the work called *Kunthalesvara Dautya* by Kalidasa. Kalidasa states that he had gone to the Kunthala court as ambassador. The *shloka* quoted therein states that Kalidasa was not offered an honoured seat in the court of the king, and was forced to sit on the ground. This indicates that the Kadambas treated the ambassador with scant respect and that they must have felt equal in status to the Guptas from whose court the poet had come.

Sanskrit poet Bhoja in his *Shringara Prakasika* also indicates this fact that an ambassador was sent from the Gupta court to Kunthala. Though Dr. Moraes feels that this embassy was sent to the court of Bhagiratha, other scholars like R. S. Panchamukhi and Dr. P. B. Desai feel that it was to the court of Kakutstha. Dr. Desai feels that the Kadamba ruler's daughter was married to Skanda Gupta, son of Kumara Gupta. The Balaghat Inscription of Vakataka Prithvisena states that his son Narendrasena was married to Ajitabhatarika, a Kunthala princess. Scholars have identified this princess to be the daughter of Kakutstha Varman as he was Prithvisena's contemporary.

Another Talagunda record states that one of the daughters, Lakshmidēvi, of the same king was married to a prince of the Bhātari family, a feudatory of the Kadambas. We also know from a latter record that Ganga Avinitha was the nephew of Kadamba Krishna Varman. This leads to the conclusion that Avinitha's father Madhava had married another daughter of Kakutstha Varman, as Krishna Varman was the son of the latter. Kakutstha was a powerful ruler, strong enough to forge matrimonial alliances with some of the noble royal families of India. He was also diplomatic enough to realise the importance of such alliances. This makes him a great statesman.

Shanti Varman, who was a joint ruler with his father must have succeeded his father as the sole ruler in c. 455 A.D. He ruled for a short time, till c. 460 A.D. He is styled as "the second son of the Kadamba family" in one of the grants of his son Mrigesha. His younger brother, Krishna Varman was ruling as viceroy over the southern provinces. Some scholars hold that Shanti Varman never ruled. But the Birur Plates of Vishnu Varman, son of Krishna Varman, refer to Shanthi Varman as Dharma Maharaja, and they also inform us that Vishnu Varman made a grant with the permission of Shanti Varman. This indicates that Shanti Varman must have ruled for sometime.

Mrigesha Varman, the eldest son of Shanti Varman, succeeded his father in about 460 A.D. He came into conflict with the Gangas and the Pallavas. Palasika or Halasi was a second capital in his time. He married a Kēkaya princess, Prabhavati, had three sons, of whom Ravi Varman succeeded him. There was a division in the Kadamba kingdom, and the successors of Krishna Varman (Shanti Varman's brother) declared themselves free. They ruled from Thripurvata. Krishna Varman too must have declared himself free soon after the death of his elder brother, because the Devagiri Plates of his son, Crown Prince Deva Varman, state that Krishna Varman had performed *ashvamedha*.

The capital of the new branch, Thriparavata, is identified as Halebidu by Dr. Moraes, and as Murgod (in Belgaum District) by K. B. Pathak. The latter appears to be more acceptable.

Shimoga Plates help us know that there was a second viceroy of the kingdom, ruling from Ucchangi called Kumara Varman, and Dr. Moraes regards him as another brother of Shanti Varman. But others do not accept this identification.

After Mrigesha, his brother Shivamandhatri appears to have ruled for a short while, perhaps during the minority of the former's son, Ravi Varman. After this regency (c. 480-85) of his uncle, Ravi Varman succeeded to the throne, and his rule is the longest among the Kadambas. He killed the ruler of Kanchi called Chandadanda, whom Prof. R. Sathianathaier identifies as Pallava Shanti Varman, who had perhaps come to the aid of the rival line of Thriparvata. He also killed Vishnu Varman of the Thriparvata branch, according to Dr. Moraes. He put an end to the viceroyalty of the successors of Shivamandhatri, who must have tried to revolt and establish another rival branch from Ucchangi. Ravi Varman's younger brother, Bhanu Varman was stationed at Halasi and another brother Shivaratha at Ucchangi, as viceroys. Ravi Varman has left behind at least 10 records, and the Gudnapur Inscription is the latest discovery. It refers to the Punnatas, Alupas, Kongalvas and the Pandyas as his subordinates.

His son, Hari Varman, succeeded him in 519, and his Sangolli Plates, issued during his eighth regnal year, help us to get this precise date. He was killed by Krishna Varman II of the Thriparvata branch, and thus, Hari Varman was the last prince in the line of Shanti Varman.

In the Thriparvata branch, Krishna Varman, the second son of Kakutstha Varman, who had founded the line in c. 460, was succeeded by his son Vishnu Varman in c. 475. Vishnu Varman's Hebbtta Record informs us that he had come to the throne with the help of the Pallavas. He was succeeded by

Simha Varman, in c. 485. Simha's son, Krishna Varman II who succeeded him in 516, captured Banavasi by killing Hari Varman, in about 530. But soon, Pulakeshin I of Badami, who must have been a subordinate of the Kadambas, overpowered him (c. 540) and the sovereign rule of the Kadambas ended. Inscriptions speak about Krishna Varman's son Aja Varman and grandson Bhogi Varman, but they ruled only as subordinates of the Chalukyas of Badami.

Administration : The Kadamba rulers called themselves as "dharmamaharajas", in imitation of the Shatavahanas. Mayura is called "Vaijayantidharmamaharajadhiraja", and Krishna Varman I was "Dharmamaharaja". The rulers were well read in scriptures and were renowned for their scholarship. Mayura was "*Vedangavidyavisharada*" (master in the study of the Vedangas). Vishnu Varman is described as proficient in grammar and logic. Simha Varman is called as "skilled in many branches of learning".

Dr. Moraes says that administration was run with the help of the five ministers, namely *pradhana* or prime minister, *manevergade* or the steward of the household, *kramukapala* or the betel-carrier, *tantrapala* and *sabhakarya sachiva* or secretary of the council. A record of Hari Varman says that he followed the advice of those who were "elders by their learning" (*vidyavridhas*). Ravi Varman had a *deshamatya* called Nilakantha, who was also his physician. *Rahasyadhikrita* or private secretary and *sarvakaryakarta*, perhaps the chief secretary, also existed to help the king. Officials like *bhojaka* and *ayukta* are also mentioned in records.

Dharmadhyaksha, identified as chief justice, is also mentioned in one record, though we do not get any details regarding his functions.

The king appointed a crown prince to assist him in administration. Shanti Varman held the post in the days of his father Kakutstha Varman, and the latter himself held a similar post in the days of his elder brother Raghu, Vishnu Varman's

younger brother. Deva Varman held a similar position in the days of his father Krishna Varman I.

Princes were appointed as viceroys over various provinces. Kakutstha had appointed his son Krishna over Thripurvata. Dr. Moraes considers Kumara, the administrator at Ucchangi, also to be a son of Kakutstha. (But other scholars do not accept this). Ravi Varman's brother, Bhanu, looked after Halasi province and another brother Shivaratha, the province of Ucchangi. But this policy of appointing princes as viceroys proved suicidal as this led to the division of the kingdom among rival branches.

The kingdom was divided into *mandalas* or provinces. There were subordinate princes who ruled over certain areas hereditarily like the Alupas, Sendrakas and the Bhataris. The *mandala* or *desha* was a bigger unit under which were smaller units called *vishayas* or districts. Panchamukhi has enumerated as many as nine *vishayas* or districts mentioned in inscriptions, such as Sendraka Vishaya, Tagare Vishaya and Asandi Vishaya. These *vishayas* were further subdivided into smaller units called *mahagramas*, *dashagramas* and so on, resembling a modern hobli. Tagare Mahagrama consisted of 24 villages, and was a part of Tagare Vishaya. A *dashagrama* unit consisted of ten such villages.

One-sixth of the total produce of the lands was collected as land revenue. Inscriptions also speak of taxes like *perjuka* (levy on loads or peru), *vaddaravula* (tax for the maintenance of senior members of the royal family, *vridharajakula*), *bilkoda* (sales tax), *kirukula* (levy on retail goods on transit), and *pannaya* (called as levy on betel leaves by Dr. Moraes). Profession tax was collected from oilmen, carpenters, barbers, blacksmiths and others.

In extra-ordinary cases, the king administered justice, but there was a *dharmadhyaksha*, chief justice. The army had officers like *jagadala*, *dandanayaka* and *senadhipati*. They had *chaturangabala* which consisted of chariots, horses, elephants and infantry.

Cultural Conditions : The Kadambas followed the Vedic religion. Mayura was a brahmin by birth, though his successors assumed the kshatriya surname Varman. Vishnu Varman called himself "the protector of the excellent brahmana faith" or the Vedic religion. Krishna Varman I performed *ashwamedha* or horse sacrifice. The Talagunda Record begins with an invocation to Shiva, indicating their Shaiva faith. Madhukesvara or Banavasi has been considered as their family deity. Their Kudalur, Sirsi, Nilambur and Sangolli records are grants made to scholarly brahmins.

They also patronised Jainism. Three grants of Mrigesha Varman record donations to the Jaina centres of worship. Kumaradatta, a Jaina teacher, was held in veneration and was consulted by Ravi Varman in matters of public interest. Mrigesha had a Jaina commander, Shrutakirti. Ravi Varman's grant for the worship of Siddhayatana has been considered as a grant for a Buddhist *vihara*. Banavasi had been a centre of Buddhism from the days of the Mauryas and the Chutus. The Halmidi and Banavasi records begin with invocation of Vishnu.

Temples and agraharas were centres of higher learning. The Talagunda Record speaks of the Pranaveshvara Temple, where the *vedas*, *vedantha* and *nyaya* were taught. All their records, except the Kannada inscription of Halmidi, were either in Prakrit or Sanskrit. Kannada appears to have been only a colloquial language in their time. The Birur Plates call Shanti Varman as "*Samagra Karnatadesha Bhuvarga Bharthara*".

Art and Architecture : The Early Kadamba temples were simple structures. Their constructions had a *garbhagriha* or cella and an outer projection or open *mantapa* attached to it. The Kadambas were the founders of Karnataka architecture. "The buildings under this (Kadamba) style have few things in common with the Pallava styles", says Dr. Moraes.

Their earliest dated structure is the *basti* at Halasi of the days of Mrigesha Varman, which has *garbhagriha* and a *mukhamantapa*, as stated above. The mantapa is wider

than *garbhagriha* and the walls are built by joining big boulder horizontally.

The Kadambas have contributed their *vimanas* and the Kadamba *vimana* found at Kadaroli (Belgaum District) in the Shankaradeva Temple of the place is typical of the style. The square *garbhagriha* here is surmounted by a pyramid-like tower, which rises in horizontal stages, resembling steps. These steps are plain, without any embellishment. Atop the uppermost small square, is a *sthumika* and a *kalasa* or finial. The Hattikesvara Temple at Halasi has perforated screens on either side of its doorway. The pillars here have each a capital with brackets. In the Kallesvara Temple of the same place, pillars are divided into cubical and octagonal parts, and Dr. Moraes feels that they had capitals too, which have at present vanished. The Ramesvara Temple at Halasi has a Kadamba tower, and also a *shukanasa* projection in the frontal part, which serves as a roofing over *shukanasa* or vestibule in front of *garbhagriha*. It has also an open frontal hall which is surrounded by a solid parapet. The hall has entrances on its sides, and very near the vestibule. At Yalavatti, there is a Shiva temple and a *besti* of the same period and they have typical Kadamba *shikharas*.

The Kadamba *shikharas* continued to be popular during subsequent centuries. The Lakshmidēvi Temple at Doddagaddavalli of the Hoysala period has Kadamba *shikharas*. Many temples at Hampi of the Vijayanagara period also have Kadamba towers. But not many temples of the Kadambas have come down to us and some of them have undergone renovation during subsequent centuries.

K. V. Soundara Rajan speaks of three Brahmanical caves of the Kadamba period at Arvalem in Goa. They are hewn out of laterite rock. Like the Kadamba temples, the caves too have an outer *ardhamantapa* each; *garbhagrihas* contain representations of Surya, Shiva and Skanda. The pillars here are plain. "Notwithstanding the highly unsuitable, friable and grim-looking nature of the rock material, the craftsmen have been able to produce not only a coherent lay-out and inner elevation

but also maintain its salient features", says Soundara Rajan, speaking about these rock-cut shrines.

Two branches of Kadambas, one from Goa and the other from Hanagal, ruled as the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. In addition to this there were many minor branches in Karnataka. They were of Bayalunad, Belur, Bankapura, Bandanike and Chandavar. One branch ruled in Orissa, and they had named their capital as Jayanthipura in imitation of Jayanthipura (Banavasi), their original home, and they ruled during the 10th and 11th centuries.

THE GANGAS

The Gangas ruled as a sovereign dynasty in Gangavadi, the region of the present Kolar, Mysore, Bangalore and Tumkur Districts, from about 350 to 550 A.D. They continued to rule as the subordinates of the Chalukyas of Badami, and later of the Rashtrakutas, till the close of 10th century. Initially they were ruling from Kolar and later from Talakadu. Manne in Bangalore District was also their capital for some time. Inscriptions are the chief source of information on the dynasty. *Lokhavi bhaga*, a Prakrit work, and certain Kannada works like *Chavundaraya Purana* also reveal to us some information on the dynasty. The Gangas have called themselves as belonging to Jahnaveyakula and Kanvayana Gotra. They were known also as Kongani Arasas.

Origin : That they called themselves as belonging to the Kanvayana Gotra has made Prof. K. P. Jayaswal to feel that they belonged to the Kanva dynasty of North India. The last king of the Kanva dynasty, Susharma had been taken prisoner by the Shatavahanas and brought to the South. Prof. Jayaswal feels that the Gangas must be descendants of this prince. But the Kanva empire was dissolved in 28 B.C., and the Ganga kingdom, according to all accepted traditions, was not founded earlier than the 4th century A.D. "It is not conceivable that the descendents of the Kanvas could found a dynasty after more

than 300 years of the vanishing of the Kanvas" says Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao. According to certain inscriptions (Sikarpur 225 and 236), the Gangas were descendents of Gangadatta of the Ikshvaku vamsa. This prince was born of Vijayamahadevi, daughter-in-law of Ikshvaku Harishchandra. The queen, while bathing in the river Ganga, gave birth to Gangadatta.

According to a third record, a member of this family of Gangadatta, Bhagadatta, became the ruler of Kalinga and one of his brothers, Shridatta was ruling the ancestral kingdom in the North. A ruler in the line called Padmanabha was forced to send two of his sons, Dadiga and Madhva to the South, when his country was subjected to the invasion of a ruler of Ujjayini. They were the princes who founded the kingdom in Gangavadi. These legendary stories are not acceptable. The statement that Bhagadatta was granted Kalinga is also not acceptable. The Gangas of Kalinga called themselves as "Masters of Kuvalalapura" after the Gangas of Karnataka, who also had a similar title. It meant that the town of Kolar was their capital.

As the Gangas called themselves descendents of a ruler of the Ikshvakuvamsha, there is reason to believe that they were descendents of the Ikshvakus that ruled in Andhra Pradesh as the successors of the Shatavahanas during the third century. They were weakened during the early part of the fourth century. A 10th-century Pallava record says that two princes of a dynasty from Ayodhya founded a kingdom at Gangaperur (Perur in modern Cuddapah district) and later, they made Kolar their capital.

A number of inscriptions narrate a story that two princes, Didiga and Madhava met one Jaina *guru*, Simhanandin who obtained them a boon sword from Goddess Padmavati. He gave the sword to Madhava with which the prince struck a stone pillar and broke it into two. The ascetic crowned the prince a king. He was also known as Kongani Varman. The Gangas are popularly known as Konganiyarasars in Tamil inscriptions.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from these accounts and stories is that the Gangas were the successors of the Ikshvakus from Andhra. After the weakening of the Ikshvaku power, they founded a new kingdom at Perur, and later shifted the capital to Kolar. Initial year of the first ruler of the dynasty, Kongani Varma Madhava, is c. 350. Taking advantage of the political confusion that followed the campaigns of Samudra Gupta he must have set the overlordship of the Pallavas aside and founded his sovereign rule as the Kadambas did. He was succeeded by his son, Madhava I in c. 400 A.D. Hari Varman or Ayya Varman or Krishna Varman was the son and successor of Madhava I. *Lokavibhaga* a Prakrit work by Simhasuri, says that this prince was crowned by Pallava Simha Varman. According to *Lokavibhaga* Simha Varman came to throne in c. 436 and Hari Varman must have ascended the Ganga throne in c. 440. The Penukonda Record of the Pallavas says that Hari Varman's son was Madhava II, crowned by Pallava Skanda Varman. Madhava II's initial date can be c. 465, as Skanda Varman came to the throne in c. 460. During this period the Gangas appear to have been the feudatories of the Pallavas. Madhava II was succeeded by his son Vishnugopa. Madhava III, also known as Tadangala Madhava, son of Vishnugopa, seems to have ruled between c. 480 and 495. He was the son-in-law of Kakutstha Varman Kadamba. Madhava III was succeeded by his son Avinitha and the latter in turn by Durvinitha, the son of Avinitha. Avinitha had been crowned in his infancy.

Avinitha (c. 495-55) had married Jyeshtha, the princess of Punnata and he had two sons. His effort to crown his younger son as the king was foiled by the elder son, Durvinitha who snatched the crown from his younger brother.

Durvinitha (555-605): Durvinitha was one of the powerful rulers of the dynasty. He merged Punnata and Pannada into his kingdom. He was the first great king in the dynasty and a great scholar. He translated *Vaddakatha* of Gunadhya into Sanskrit. He also wrote a commentary on parts

of *Kiratajunhya* of Bharavi. The reference made to one Durvinitha in *Kavirajamarga* appears to be to him. It refers to him as a Kannada writer. *Shabdavathara* is a commentary in Sanskrit on Panini's grammar by the same scholar prince.

His Gummareddipura Record informs us that he had defeated his enemies at Allatturu, Poralure, Pernagara and other battles, though it is not clear who those enemies were. Punnata he had merged in his kingdom was in the present Heggadadevanakote Taluk region with Kirtipura, modern Kittur, as its capital. His mother belonged to that family, and perhaps there were no male successors to Punnata dynasty. Durvinitha thus became the natural successor to Punnata throne too. It has not been possible to identify Pannada, though there is a view that it stands for Bana country.

A warrior and a creative writer, Durvinitha was also well-versed in fine arts and sciences. His Nallala plates say that he was an expert in music, dance, the art of taming of elephants and ayurveda, and equalled Vishnugopa (Chanakya) in his knowledge of *Nitishastra*. There can be some amount of truth in this account, as princes were trained in all arts and sciences in those days.

Some scholars are of the view that Durvinitha had married his daughter to Pulakesin II of the Chalukya family. This statement is based on an 11th century record found in Shimoga District (Nagar 35). But this interpretation of the record is not accepted by all scholars, and it is improbable that Pulakesin was old enough to marry Durvinitha's daughter at that time, as Durvinitha's rule had ended in 605. Dr. Desai assigns Durvinitha a still earlier date, (529 to 579).

Sirgunda Record informs us that Durvinitha had three sons, and two of them, Mushkara and Polavira, have been identified.

Durvinitha was succeeded by his first son, Mushkara, in c. 605, and later by his second son, Polavira, in c. 644. Polavira was followed by his nephew (Mushkara's son),

Shrivikrama to the throne, and he in turn by his son Bhuvikrama, in c. 670. We know for certain that the latter's younger brother Shivamara succeeded him in 679, by his Halligeri Record. This Record gives a clue to fix the approximate dates of all earlier rulers till Durvinitha.

Bhuvikrama who was an ally and subordinate of the Chalukyas of Badami played a prominent part in the defeat of the Pallavas at Vilande in c. 670. He snatched a valuable necklace, Ugrodaya, from the Pallava Parameshvara Varman and helped Chalukya Vikrama I to be victorious.

Bhuvikrama's brother, Shivamara, came to the throne in 679 as seen above. He was succeeded by his grandson Shripurusha. Shripurusha's father had predeceased Shivamara, and we do not know the name of this prince.

Shripurusha : Shripurusha (726-88) had his queens from the Chalukya and Nolamba families. In a war between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas, Shripurusha defeated Pallava Nandivarman and assumed the title Permanadi. But some scholars are of the view that this might be an achievement of Bhuvikrama. But N. L. Rao holds that it is an achievement of Shripurusha. His initial year is 726 as testified by the Javali Plates. He ruled for 62 years, till 788. He helped Chalukya Vikrama II in his campaigns against Kanchi. Later the Pallavas attacked Gangavadi and recovered Ugrodaya, the necklace, which Shrivikrama had secured in 670. Shripurusha shifted his capital to Manne from where he fought many severe battles against the Rashtrakutas, who had overthrown the Chalukyas.

Previous to this, he also appears to have fought against the Pandyas, and in this war, he was helped by the Chalukyas, perhaps Kirteivarman II. But in this war Shripurusha was defeated at Venbai by Pandya Termara. Termara had married a Ganga Princess, having kidnapped her.

Rashtrakuta Krishna I tried to subdue Shripurusha, and the latter offered stern resistance. It appears that he had chased the Rashtrakuta army till Kampili (in Bellary District), and had

even occupied certain Ratta territories. During this period his Nolamba feudatory Charuponnara changed his loyalty and joined hands with the Rashtrakutas.

Shripurusha was a great Ganga monarch, and he did not submit to the Rashtrakutas till his end. During his time, his territory was called Gangavadi-96,000. He had titles like Rajakesari, Bhimakopa and Ranabhajana which seem appropriate. His victories against the Pallavas secured him the title Permanadi. He had three sons, Duggamara, Shivamara II and Vijayaditya. The last named was the son of Chalukya princess Vijayamahadevi, perhaps a daughter of Chalukya Vijayaditya. Shripurusha was also a scholar and he wrote *Gajasastra* in Sanskrit. He was succeeded by his second son Shivamara II.

Shivamara II (788-816) : The last record of Shripurusha is dated 788, and Saigotta Shivamara II might have come to throne in the same year. Soon after his coming to the throne, Rashtrakuta Dhruva made a serious effort to subdue the Gangas. He defeated Shivamara at Mudagunduru. Though Marasimha, Shivamara's crown prince, in his later records claims that Shivamara was victorious, it is certain that Shivamara was taken captive soon after this battle, and Dhruva appointed his son Kamba as governor over Gangavadi. When Govinda III succeeded Dhruva, he released Shivamara, but later imprisoned him as Shivamara did not pay the fine imposed on him by Govinda III. Thus Shivamara was again imprisoned. But Shivamara's son, Marasimha, was ruling as yuvaraja (from c. 796-97) over Gangavadi, as made known by inscriptions. A little earlier to his death, Govinda III released Shivamara. In the meanwhile, Marasimha, the crown prince had died.

After the death of Govinda III, Shivamara made a fresh bid to free himself from the Rastrakuta yoke. He offered the crown to his younger brother Vijayaditya as his own son Prithveepathi was too young to rule, and participated in a war against the Rashtrakutas. He died in 816 at Kagemogeyur, fighting against the Rashtrakutas.

Shivamara is undoubtedly one of the great Ganga kings. His love for freedom was indomitable. He was also a devotee Jaina, and he constructed the Chandraprabha Basti at Shravana-belagola. He was a talented poet and wrote *Gajashtaka* in Kannada and it is described as an *onakevadu* (a song sung while hulling paddy). He also wrote Sanskrit *Gajamatha Kalpana* (a study on elephants), and *Sethubandha*, perhaps in Prakrit.

Vijayaditya, Shivamara's brother, did not ascend the Ganga throne, but he made his own son, Rajamalla or Rachamalla I, the Ganga ruler, and he was crowned in 816 (as stated in the Manne Record). He continued the war against the Rashtrakutas after the death of his uncle Shivamara II, and allied himself with the Nolambas. He married his daughter, Jayabbe, to Nolamba Polalachora. His son Nithimarga, who came to the throne in 843, continued to resist the Rashtrakuta power and all efforts of the Rashtrakuta commander, Bankesha, to subdue him failed. Finally, Amoghavarsha I married his daughter Chandrabhalabbe, to Buthuga, the second son of Nithimarga.

The younger son of Shivamara II, Prithveepathi, later founded a rival branch at Parvi, modern Parbi, in Hindupur Taluk and ruled as a subordinate of the Pallavas. He was followed by his son Nanneyaganga and grandson Prithveepathi II in that line. After this, the line did not continue.

The first son of Nithimarga, Rachamala II, succeeded Nithimarga in 870, followed by his nephew Ereganga Nithimarga II, son of Buthuga, in 907. Three sons of Nithimarga II, Narasimha (from 921 A.D.), Rajamalla III (from 933 A.D.), and Buthuga II (from 938 A.D.), ruled the kingdom one after the other.

Buthuga II: Buthuga Satyasaukya was the last son of Nithimarga II, and his record says that his elder brother Rachamalla III, was a wicked ruler, and Buthuga wanted to dethrone him. The latter therefore sought the help of the Rashtrakutas. He went to Tripuri (in Central India) where Baddegadeva

(Amoghavarsha III) had taken shelter, and helped the Rashtrakuta prince to defeat his enemies and win the Rashtrakuta throne in 936. He married Revakanimmadi, daughter Amoghavarsha III, at Tripuri. Later, with the help of the Rashtrakutas, he killed Rachamalla III and ascended the Ganga throne in 938. From this date, the Gangas became the subordinates of the Rashtrakutas and their close allies.

Buthuga was not only ruling Gangavadi, but also Bagadage 70, Kisukadu-70, Belvola-300 and Puligere-300, the Ratta territories. He was a great warrior, and helped the Rashtrakutas in all their wars. One of his major victories was his killing of Chola Rajaditya at Takkolam by springing on the Chola's elephant (in 949). This victory secured Buthuga the Banavasi-12000 province from Krishna III. He must have also helped Krishna III in the capture of Tanjore, the Chola capital. Buthuga's last record is of 960, and he must have died the next year.

Buthuga had married two more queens, Kallabbarasi and Paddabbarasi. He had two sons, Marulaganga being the son of Revakanimmadi and Marasimha of Kallabbarasi. At a time when the Pallava power was declining, and the imperial Cholas were rising their head, Buthuga II thought it wise to ally himself with the Rashtrakutas. Thus he could help Krishna III to humiliate the Cholas. Buthuga II was a scholar, a devoted Jaina, and he defeated a Buddhist scholar in disputation. The Kudlur Record considers him as capable critic of poetry.

He was succeeded by his two sons, Marulaganga (961-63) and Marasimha II (963-75) in order. The latter had even helped Rashtrakuta Krishna III in his northern expedition, and had defeated the Gurjara prince. He drove Paramara Siyaka back, when he attacked Malkhed in 972. He also crushed the Nolambas and destroyed their power in c. 970. After the death of Karka and capture of the Rashtrakuta empire by the Chalukyas in 973, he resisted the new power, and upheld the cause of Indra IV, his nephew, grandson of Krishna III.

Rachamalla IV Satyavakya and Rachamalla V Rakkasaganga are the sons of Marasimha II and they are the last Ganga rulers. Marasimha II died in 975 by *sallekhana* at Shravanabelagola. His son Rachamalla IV ruled till 986. Chavundaraya, his minister, was a poet and he installed the Gomata monolith at Shravanabelagola. Rachamalla IV was succeeded by his brother, Rachamalla V Rakkasaganga, in 986. He was the last Ganga ruler. He found the Chola invasion irresistible, and lost Gangavadi to the Cholas in 999 A.D. A prince called Nithimarga Permanadi is mentioned in a record dated 999. His relations with earlier rulers is not known, nor is he heard of later.

Chavundaraya : Though only a minister and a commander, Chavundaraya has a prominent place in Ganga history. He had been a minister under successive Ganga rulers like Marasimha II (963-75), Rachamalla IV (975-86) and Rachamalla V. His father was Manthri Mabalayya and mother Kaladevi. He was a Jaina and a disciple of ascetical Ajitasena Bhattaraka and also of Nemichandra. Ajitadevi was his wife according to *Bhujabalicharithe*, a 17th-century Kannada work by Panchabana. Chavundaraya was a great scholar and he wrote *Charitrasara* in Sanskrit and *Chavundaraya Purana* or *Trishashthi Lakshana Mahapurana* in Kannada prose. The latter discusses the life and achievements of 63 prominent figures in Jaina tradition known as the *shalakapurushas*. He had also patronised celebrated Kannada poet Ranna during his early days and Kannada grammarian Gunavarma. The former pays such rich tributes to this generous minister that he says that he (Ranna) named his own son after him as Raya. Some scholars are of the view that Ranna's work *Parashurama Charite* (which is not extant) must have had Chavundaraya as its hero as this great warrior had as one of his titles "Samara Parashurama".

Chavundaraya was a great warrior and he had helped Rachamalla IV to secure the throne when there ensued a civil war for succession in 975. *Chavundaraya Purana* gives a long list of his victories and achievements in glowing terms and

gives a list of his titles and the reasons for their assumption. With his death, the kingdom appears to have lost a strong pillar and soon it crumbled.

One of the notable achievements of this warrior-scholar was his causing the engraving of the Gomata colossus at Shravanabelagola in c. 982-83. His son Jinadevana appears to have built the famous Chavundaraya *basti* of the same place.

Administration : The Gangas called themselves Dharma-maharajas. That they followed *Manudharmashastra* and other works on *rajaneeti* in administration is testified by the description of Durvinitha as Manu, and of Nithimarga as ruling according to the principles laid down by *Neetisara*. Succession to throne was hereditary and instances when junior princes were chosen to succeed are also not unknown. Durvinitha fought against his younger brother when his father chose the latter as successor. Shivamara II offered the crown to his younger brother, Vijayadithya, as against his own son Prithvoepati I.

Though the Gangas remained as tributaries of the Pallavas, the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas for long, they were completely free in internal administration. Inscriptions speak of great religious leaders advising the king in administration. Madhava Konganivarman was guided by Simhanandi, Avinita by Vijayakirti, Shivamara by Pushpadanta and so on. Inscriptions speak of an official called *sarvadhikari*, perhaps prime minister ; *shribhandari* or chief treasurer ; and *sandhivigrahi* or foreign minister. Mahapradhana, prime minister, is also mentioned. All these officials generally had a suffix *dandanayaka* to their names, indicating that they were all army officials. The office of the minister was at times held hereditarily, as in the case of Chavundaraya whose father and grandfather were also ministers. Manevergade or steward of the royal household, mahapasayita or master of the robes, antahpuradhyaksha or superintendent of the seraglio, mahapadiyara or chief palace guard and hadapada or betel-carrier were some of the palace officials.

Rajasutradhari or king's personal secretary, rahasyadhikrita or private secretary, mahamatra or supervisor of the written royal orders, were the other important officials. The kingdom was divided into nadus and inscriptions speak of Torenadu, Kongalnadu, Elenagaranadu, Asandinadu and so on. At times princes, were appointed as governors over these regions. There were certain subordinate rulers like the Senavaras, Nolambas, Punnatas and the Banas ruling over their own territories hereditarily.

The nadus were further divided into vishayas or districts and kampanas, consisting of a group of villages. The vishaya had a vishayapathi and the grama (village) had a gramakuta. Administrative divisions like Gangavadi-96,000, Punnata-10,000, Elenagaranadu-70, Torenadu-500 and Ponnakunda-12 are mentioned in inscriptions. The last named must have been a kampana. Rajjuka, the survey official, lekhaka, the village accountant, ayuktaka and niyuktadhikari are also mentioned.

Land was the chief source of the revenue and reference to rajjuka or the survey official is already made. Kadita or revenue records are also mentioned in inscriptions. Gangakol, bherundakol, etc., were measuring rods and nivartana, mattara and kamma were some of the land measures. Hejjunka or perjunka was the excise duty levied on goods in bulk in transit and kirukula was a levy on retail goods. Vaddaravula, pannya etc., are also mentioned. Profession taxes too, like those on potters, weavers, smiths etc., were collected. Marriages, houses, pastures etc., were also taxed.

There were village assemblies, though no details about their working are forthcoming. Agraharas had assemblies of the mahajanas. Local assemblies took care of village wells and irrigational facilities. In addition to gramakuta (or gavunda, modern gauda) and karnam, there was talara or the watchman in every village. A tax called talarike was collected for the maintenance of the talara. Major cities like Talakadu had an official, Pattanaswami, who looked after public property and maintained roads and choultries. Guilds of potters, bamboo

workers, oil mongers and people of other professions also existed.

The state maintained a standing army and there was also the feudal levy. Gajasahani or commander of the elephant corps and thuragasahani or ashvadyaksha, head of the cavalry are mentioned. The Ganga *viragals* (herostones) have sculptures of broad swords, bows and arrows, spikes and shields depicted on them. One of the *viragals* in the Bangalore Museum has even a representation of the wounded being taken for treatment from the battle field. Dependents of the deceased in battle were supported by land grants known as *nettarukodige* or *balgalchu*. The loyalty of a servant to his master is graphically described and depicted on one of the inscription: Agarayya died by stabbing himself when King Nithimarga died in 921. The inscription says that Agarayya became a *kilgante*. A *kilgante* was burnt under the master's pyre.

Cultural Activity: Both Jainism and Vedic religion were strong and popular in the Ganga Kingdom. Buddhism was slowly losing its popularity though it continued to enjoy royal patronage. Madhava and Harivarman are described as devoted worshippers of the cows and the brahmins. Their patronage to Brahminical religion is indicated by the fact that Shiva temples were constructed at Talakadu. King Vishnugopa was a devoted Vaishnava. Dr. S. Srikantha Sastry has argued that Durvinitha was a Vaishnava. Inscriptions also speak of Kalamukhas, Pashupatas and Lokayatas practising their religion in Gangavadi. Jainism was highly popular. Simhanandi, a Jaina ascetic, is described as the perceptor of the early rulers. Great Jaina scholars like Vakragriva, Vajranandi, Shrivardhadeva and Ajitasena were highly responsible for its popularity. Jaina bastis came to be erected at Manne, Belagola, Kambadahalli, and the Gomata monolith was installed at Belagola during the period.

The period of the Gangas was one of great literary activity, in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Kannada, though many works of the

period in all these languages have been lost. Kings of this dynasty were great scholars and writers. Madhava II, wrote a treatise, 'Dattaka Sutravritti' on an earlier work on erotics by one Dattaka. Durvinitha was a writer both in Sanskrit and Kannada. He translated Gunadhya's 'Vaddakatha' from Prakrit into Sanskrit. He wrote a commentary on the 15th chapter of 'Kiratarjuneeya' of Bharavi. He also wrote a Sanskrit commentary on Panini's grammar. This work is *Shabdavathara*, to be distinguished from another work of the same names by Pujyapada. Shripurusha was the author of Sanskrit 'Gajashastra'. Shivamara II composed *Gajamata Kalpana* in Sanskrit and *Sethubandha* in Prakrit.

The Gangas also patronised a number of scholars and writers. Bharavi is believed to have lived for some time in their court. Hemasena or Vidya Dhananjaya was patronised by Buthuga II, according Dr. A Venkatasubbiah. His work *Raghavapandaviya* narrates the stories of Rama and the Pandavas simultaneously through puns. It is a *tour de force*. A student of this author was Vadeebhasimha who wrote two prose works 'Gadyachintamani' and 'Kshatrachudamani' in imitation of Bana's 'Kadambari'.

Durvinitha has been referred to as a Kannada author in 'Kavirajamarga'. Shivamara II wrote 'Gajashtaka' in Kannada. But this work is not extant now. Chavundaraya, the famous Ganga minister, wrote 'Chavundarayapurana' in prose in 978. Gunavarma I was another Kannada author of the period, who was patronised by Nithimarga II. His works 'Shudraka' and 'Harivamsha' are known only by few quotations from them. The former work appears to have had Nithimarga II as its hero.

Art & Architecture: As Gangavadi was initially subjected to the rule of the Pallavas, many of the Ganga constructions are highly influenced by the Pallava style. But there are certain original and indigenous features of the Ganga style too. The impact of the early Chalukyan style on Ganga architecture was also marked. Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao feels that elements of Jaina architecture dominated Ganga architecture.

The most striking feature, borrowed from the Pallavas by the Gangas, is the pillar with the conventional lion at the bottom carrying the shaft of the column which is cylindrical with double brackets at the top. Storeyed *vimanas* with horizontal mouldings, square pillars etc., features of the Pallava style, later became popular. The constructions of the Nolambas and the Banas of the period, found in Karnataka, were also influenced by the Pallava style.

The Kapileshwara Temple at Manne, the Mahalingeshwara at Varuna, the Pathaleswara and the Maruleswara at Talakadu, the Kolaramma at Kolar and the Nagareshwara at Begur are the few Hindu temples of the period. There are a number of Jaina *bastis* at Belagola and other places. The Kapileshwara Temple at Manne is a brick structure with beautiful pierced windows. These Hindu temples have beautiful Dravidian *vimanas*. The *sikhara* of the Kolaramma Temple is typical of the Ganga style.

Their *bastis* are built in gradually receding storeys, ornamented with small representations of temples. These small shrines are not hollow and at the centre of their outer parts are engraved small images of Tirthankaras. These rows of shrines are connected by semi-circular windows with engravings of a *kirthimukha* at the top, and a Tirthankara seated below them.

The walls of the *bastis* are divided by slender pilasters, forming rectangular, cell-like arrangements. The Chavundaraya Basti at Belagola is a typical structure of the style. Its *vimana* has two more storeys, in addition to the lower storey, which is long. Atop the third is a domical *sthupa*, supporting a *kalasa*. The second storey of the *vimana* has a shrine in front. In front of the rectangular general structure there is a four-pillared *mukhamantapa*. The pillars here are square at the bottom and cylindrical in the shaft. They have a flat cushion below the capital.

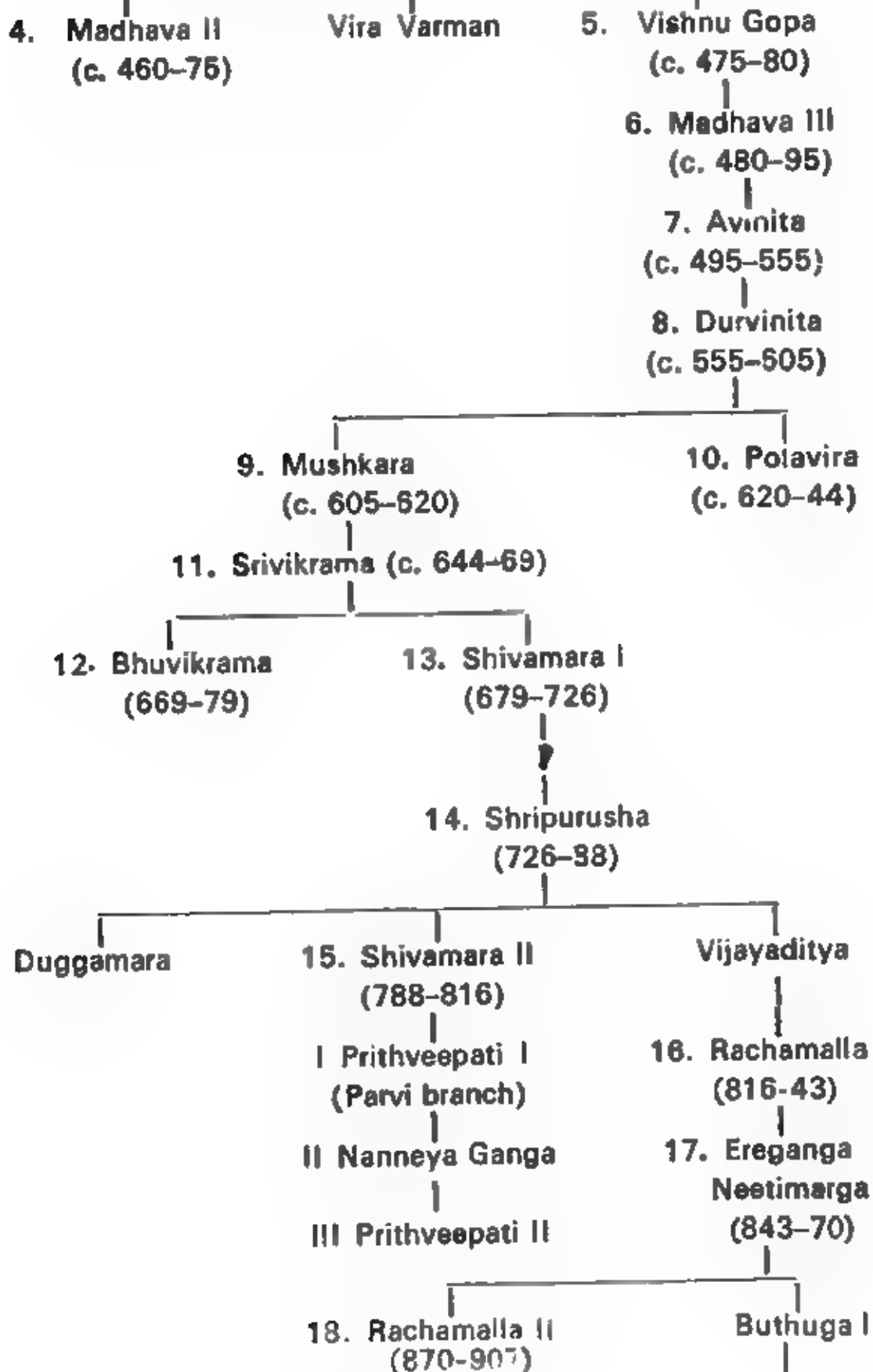
The Gomata monolith at Shravanabelagola is a unique example of Ganga sculpture. Wrought in fine-grained white

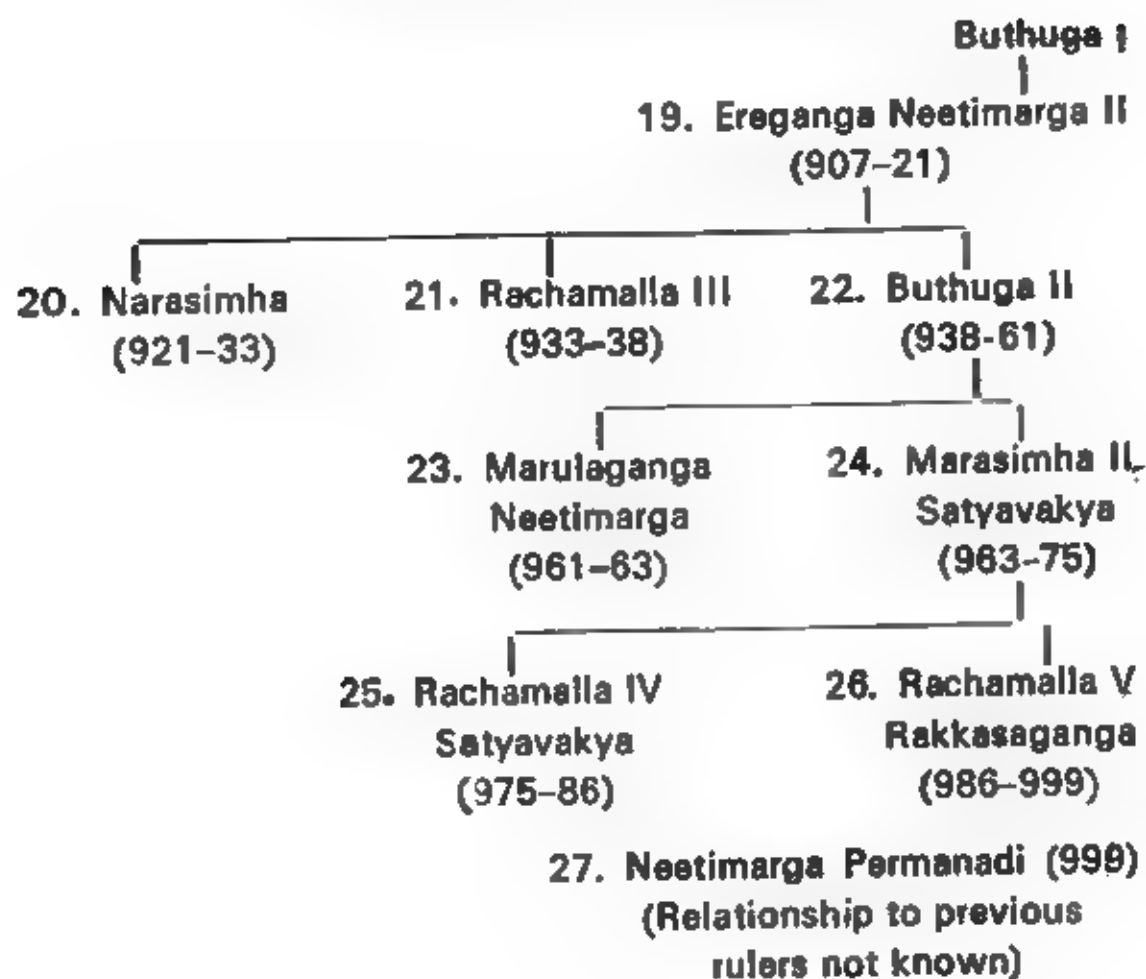
granite, the image stands on a lotus. The image has no support up the thighs. Installed in c. 982-83, it is taller than 57'. Its face is 6½' long. Its serene facial expression, curled hairs and graceful locks, all stylised to a minimum extent, make it a great piece of art. The gignatic image is proportionate with anatomical details finely brought out, though its workmanship is conventional. But the legs are a little dwarfed below the waist. "It is perhaps one of the mightiest achievements of ancient Karnataka in the realm of sculptural art", says Dr. M. Seshadri. The monolith has its later and smaller imitations at Karkala and Venur in South Kanara District.

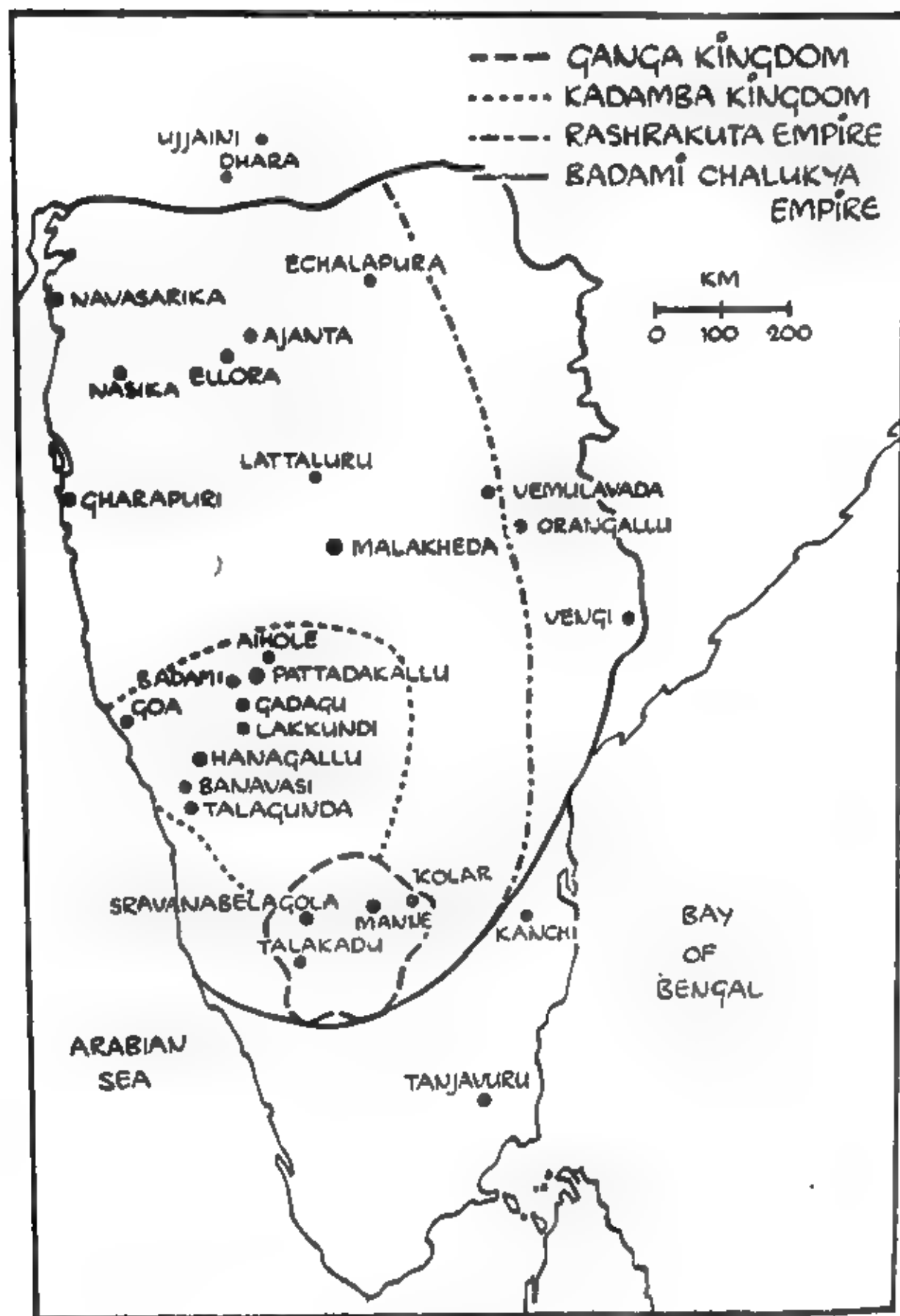
The free-standing pillars are the next interesting aspects of Ganga sculpture. They have erected tall *Manastambhas* and *Bhrahmastambhas*. Mr. Fergusson says the following regarding these monuments: "If any one wished to select one feature of Indian architecture which has its perfection and weakness there are probably no objects more suited for this purpose than these *stambhas* or free-standing pillars". The Brahmadeva Pillar has a figure of seated Brahma atop and the pillar itself is more than 20' tall. There are two such Ganga pillars. The Tyagada Brahma Pillar rests on a square base and has beautiful engravings representing Chavundaraya and Nemichandra at the bottom. The shaft of the pillar is decorated with graceful creepers and flowers. *Manastambha* at Shravanabelagola stands on a three-tier pedestal. The pillar is square at the bottom and its shaft is octagonal. Girdle-like friezes are beautifully engraved at regular intervals. This *Manastambha* looks to be the parent of many such creations in western Karnataka. In the words of Dr. Vincent Smith, "In the whole range of Indian art, there is nothing perhaps equal to the pillars for good taste".

The Gangas have left a number of beautiful hero-stones with fine relief sculptures on them. Some of them are housed in the Bangalore Museum. One of them is a large slab on which unique war scene is engraved in detail.

3. Hari Varman (Ayya, Vishnu) (c. 440-60)







Map No. 1

CHAPTER IV

THE CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI

The Chalukyas of Badami (Vathapi) who ruled between c. 540 to 753, were the first dynasty that united Karnataka under a single rule. They ruled over an extensive empire that extended from the Kaveri to the Narmada, and had their sway over the modern states of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Goa and major parts of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Andhra and parts of Tamilnadu. Inscriptions are the most important source for the outlining of their history. Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsiang and Arab historian Tabari have revealed certain facts about the dynasty.

Origin: The inscriptions of the Later Chalukyas (of Kalyana) like the Nilagunda Record of Vikrama VI inform us that the family was originally from Ayodhya, and 59 kings of the family ruled from that place. Later 16 princes of the family ruled from South India. The court poet of Vikrama VI, Bilhana repeats the same story. According to him, the first member of the family was Chalukya, and he was named so as he was born from the *chuluka* (hollow of the hands) of Brahma. But this appears to be only an attempt to extract some meaning from the word Chalukya. Scholars like Dr. Hoernle have said that the name is not of Sanskrit origin.

The records of the Eastern Chalukyas (of Vengi) while supporting the northern origin theory, say that one ruler of this branch from Ayodhya came to the South and he died in a war with Pallava Trilochana. His queen later gave birth to a posthumous child called Vishnuvardhana who defeated the Pallavas and married a Pallava princess. A child born of this couple called Vijayaditya is described as the father of Pulakesin I. But we know that Pulakesin's father was Ranaraga from other sources and there was no ruler called Trilochana

Pallava. Matrimonial relations between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas are not mentioned in the Chalukyan records. These stories on northern origin need not be taken seriously because the practice of connecting their families with some northern dynasty was popular among the rulers of South India during the 11th century. Earlier records of the family do not speak of this.

Lewis Rice has tried to ascribe a foreign origin to the family. "The name Chalukya bears a suggestive resemblance to Seleukia", says he and adds that they are originally the Seleucidae from Iraq. Similarly he identifies the Pallavas with the Parthians or the Arsacidae from Iraq, and he explains the continued contest between the two families as "but a sequel of the contests between Seleucidae and Arsacidae" in Iraq. But this argument is based only on an outward resemblance in names, and the Pallava—Chalukya contest was only a late development, and they did not fight each other during the initial stages of their rule. In fact the Pallava-Chalukya rivalry was only a continuation of the Pallava-Kadamba conflict.

There was one Kandachaliki Remmanaka, a subordinate of the Ikshvakus in Andhra, and this has made some scholars to ascribe an Andhra origin to the family. They call them as successors of Kandachaliki. But this feudatory calls himself as Vashishthiputra belonging to the family of Hiranyakas whereas Chalukyas were Haritiputras and of Manavyasa Gotra, as stated by the Hyderabad Plates of Pulakeshin II. Thus the family connects itself with the earlier Shatavahanas and the Kadambas who were also calling themselves as Harithiputras and of Manavyasa Gotra. The Hyderabad Record says that they were nourished by the Seven Mothers (Saptamatrikas) and were worshippers of Kartikeya.

Dr. S. C. Nandimath feels that the word Chalukya or Chalki (as found mentioned in some records) must have originated from the Kannada word *salki*, an agricultural implement, and this indicates their Kannada origin. They were known as Karnatas. The Rashtrakutas later said that they had

defeated the Karnatabala of the Chalukyas. Queen Vijayanka of Chalukya Chandradithya states that she is the "beloved of the Karnata ruler". N. L. Rao has pointed out that some Sanskrit records of the family also have named their princes with the purely Kannada suffix *arasa* like Kattiyarasa, Bittarasa and Mangalarasa, and this clearly indicates that they were a Kannada-speaking family. Rao has shown that the family had some purely Kannada titles like Priyagallam and Noduttagehvom. Their recently discovered coins have Kannada legends, and a good number of their records are in Kannada, beginning with the Badami Cave Record of Mangalesha. Their Aihole and some other Sanskrit records are written in Kannada script.

Thus it looks that they were of an indigenous origin. Initially they were subordinates of the Kadambas, and later they became free, from about c. 540 A.D. They had Varaha or the Divine Boar as their emblem as they were originally Vaishnavas.

The Badami Cliff Record of Pulakeshin I (Polekeshi, to be true to the Record) dated 543 A.D. says that he was the son of Ranaraga and the grandson of Jayasimha. Pulakeshin I built the fort at Badami and performed horse sacrifice. His rule must have started from c. 540 and he had titles like Satyashraya and Vallabha, and he called himself as Dharmamaharaja. He had as his crowned queen, Durlabhadevi of the Bappura family. According some scholars, he had another queen called Indukanti (but some others are of the view that Indukanti was his first capital, and not his queen). Pulakeshin was the first sovereign ruler of the family who overthrew the Kadambas.

He was succeeded by his son Kirthi Varman I in 566. This date is had from the Badami Cave Record. He was also known as Pugavarman and Kattiyarasa. His brother Mangalesha built the famous Vaishnava Cave at Badami during his rule in 578. He expanded his kingdom by defeating the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. He had married a Sendraka princess. The Sendrakas were ruling in Shimoga District. His

brother Mangalesha succeeded him in 596, and his defeat of Kalachuri Buddhavarasa of Konkana was his major achievement. The Mahakuta Pillar Record of his fifth regnal year speaks of his victories over the Ganga, Dramila (Pallava?), Chola, Alupa and the Kadamba rulers. Mangalesha had ascended the throne during the minority of the sons of Kirthivarman, and when he tried to usurp power, Pulakeshin II, Kirthivarman's son, killed him, and ascended the throne.

Pulakeshin II (609-642) : Pulakeshin II is the greatest among the rulers of Badami and one of the great kings of India. To him goes the credit of having expanded the Chalukyan kingdom in the North upto the Narmada, and in the East upto Kalinga.

His Aihole Record dated 634 is the most important source of information on him, and there are a dozen records of this monarch. His Peddavadagur Record helps us know that he killed Mangalesha at the Battle of Elpattu Simbhige and assumed the title Parameshwara. Pulakeshin II was also known as Ereya. When Ereya came of age and found his uncle unwilling to hand over the crown, he took shelter in the territory of the Bana feudatory in the South and declared war against his uncle and ascended the throne in c. 609.

After his coronation Pulakeshin II had to face two refractory chiefs. Appayika and Govinda of whom the first was made to flee and the second was won over. In fact after the death of Mangalesha there were revolts of feudatories, and "the whole world was enveloped in darkness", according to the Aihole Record which give us a detailed account of the conquests of Pulakeshin II. This was followed by his destruction of the Banavasi fort and subduing of the Kadambas. The Gangas and the Alupas surrendered voluntarily. Pulakeshin married an Alupa princess, Kadamba Mahadevi, and the Alupas proved to be his strong allies. The Mauryas of Puri (Rajapuri) were defeated with help of a navy, and rulers of Malava (Gujerat) Malava and Gurjara submitted to him. Dr. R. C. Majumdar feels that these principalities submitted to him,

perhaps out of fear of Harsha of Kanauj. He also defeated the ruler of Kosala, whom Dr. Sircar has identified as the Panduvamshi of South Kosala, ruling from Sirpur.

In the East, the ruler of Kalinga came to be defeated and Pishtapuram (modern Pithapuram) was captured. He proceeded towards Vengi in the Kolleru Lake region and defeated the Vishnukundins. His campaigns further South made the Pallava ruler take shelter in his capital Kanchi. The victorious Chalukyan army crossed the Kaveri, and befriended the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pandyas. Dr. Sircar feels that this event must have taken place before the war against the Pallavas, "as a shrewd diplomatic move".

One of the major achievements of Pulakeshin II was his defeat of Harsha Vardhana. The Aihole Record speaks of this soon after telling us about the emperor's subjection of the rulers of Lata and Malava and the Gurjaras. Harsha, surrounded by infinite number of his feudatories, lost his *harsha* (pleasant disposition) when he saw the large number of elephants in his army fall dying, says the Record. Hiuen-Tsiang also says that Harsha could not subdue Pulakeshin II. There has been a controversy over the date of this event. Some scholars believe that this war took place in 612. But this is too early a date as Pulakeshin II came to the throne only in 609, and he had to face many revolts in his own kingdom. As the Lohner Plates of 630 also do not speak of this victory, the event must have taken place after 630 and before 634, the date of the Aihole Record. The defeat of the Pallavas was another great achievement of Pulakeshin II. Some scholars are of the view that the Pallava ruler so defeated was Narasimha Varman (630-668), and this event also must have taken place in c. 632. The port of Thana (Sthanaka) was attacked by the Arabs in 637. But Pulakeshin succeeded in repulsing them.

In addition to Parameshwara, he had also other titles like Satyashraya, Prithveevallabha and Dakshinapatha Prithveeswamy. He had divided this empire into three Maharashtrakas

or great provinces, consisting of 99,000 villages. This indicates that he had organised a good administration in his vast empire. His court was visited by Hiuen-Tsiang who says that "His plans and undertakings are widespread and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance". Pulakeshin II also exchanged embassies with Persian Emperor Khushro II, according to the information furnished by the Arab historian, Tabari.

Pulakeshin had four sons Adithyavarman, Chandradithya, Vikramadithya and Jayasimha and one daughter Ambera. One of his brothers, Vishnuvardhana (Bittarasa) was a viceroy in the Satara region, and later in Vengi Mandala. He founded a new line of rulers in the East, known as the Eastern Chalukyas, who ruled for more than 500 years.

The last days of Pulakeshin II were not happy ones, as he had to face an invasion of the Pallavas who captured Badami. Pulakeshin II appears to have died of shock on hearing the news of the defeat of his armies which were pursued by the Pallavas. For more than 12 years Vathapi remained in the Pallava hands.

Vikramadithya I (655-682): The third son of Pulakeshin II, Vikramadithya I, retrieved the fortunes of his family in 655. His initial date is known to us by the Nerur Plates of Vijayanka, his sister-in-law, wife of Chandradithya. His Hyderabad Grant informs us that he fought against successive Pallava rulers, Narasimha Varman I, Mahendra Varman II and Parameshwara Varman. The last ruler was severely vanquished and Kanchi was subjected to the Chalukyan siege. Thus it appears that Vikramadithya I not only vacated the Pallava occupation of Badami but was engaged in continuous wars against them, and had marched deep into their territory. He was camping at Malliyur near Kanchi in 670, and Urugapura (Uraiyur, or perhaps Nagapattanam) in 674.

The Ganga records claim a major victory for the Chalukyas over the Pallavas at Vilande in c. 670 in which Ganga Bhuvikrama played a prominent part and snatched a valuable

necklace called "Ugrodaya" from Parameshwara Varman. The Pallava records claim that Vikrama I was defeated at Puruvallanallur by Parameshwara Varman, and he was pursued upto Badami, perhaps after 674.

Vikrama I was assisted by his son Vinayadithya, and grandson Vijayadithya in all his campaigns. The ruler of Vallabhi, Vajjada (Vajrata or Siladitya III of the Maitraka family) came to be severely defeated by Vikrama's brother Jayasimha, ruling as governor over Gujarat region. The Chalukya records have considered this victory as important as that of Pulakeshin II's over Harsha.

We know from his Gadwal Record that his queen was Gangamahadevi, perhaps a Ganga princess. The Amulapadu Record informs us that Vikrama had been initiated to Shaivism by one Sudarshanacharya. But he continued to patronise Vaishnavism. Many endowments to temples and brahmins, discontinued during Pallava interregnum came to be renewed by him. He had crowned his son Vinayadithya in 681, though he himself had lived till 682, as made known from the Dimmagudi Record of that year.

To Vikramadithya I goes the credit of re-establishing the Chalukyan family which had been completely eclipsed by the Pallava invasion, and his two elder brothers too had failed to drive the Pallavas out of Badami. He had to suppress many refractory feudatories too. He competes in greatness with his father, and his career had been one of continuous fights against the Pallavas. The Chalukyas regained their prestige because of his valour.

Vinayadithya had played a prominent part in his father's wars against the Pallavas in 655 itself, and he was the crown prince from as early as 678. He ascended the throne in 681. His Jejuri Record of 684 speaks of his victory against the Pallavas, the Kalabhras, the Keralas and the Haihayas (the Kalachuris of Central India). The Kolhapur Plates of 693 speak of his victory over Ceylon and Kamera. The Vakkaleri

Plates of Kirthivarman II speak of his levying tribute on Kamera, Parasika and Simhala. Dr. S. Nagaraju feels that Kamera stated here is Khmer or Cambodia over which the Pallavas had some control. "It is not improbable in view of the troubled conditions in both Simhala and Persia about this period, that a Ceylonese prince and a Persian chief had taken refuge at the Chalukyan court", says Dr. D. C. Sircar. Persia had been subjected to the Islamic invasion at that time, and the Chalukyas had contacts with that country even during Pulakeshin II's days. Vinayadithya sent an expedition to the Chinese court in 692.

Vinayadithya sent an expedition to the North under crown prince Vijayadithya and levied tribute on one Sakalottarapathanatha or the paramount ruler over the entire North. The insignia of paramountcy like *Palidhwaja* were wrested from this ruler. Though Vijayadithya was victorious in these campaign, he was taken captive in the North. Vinayadithya died of sorrow over his son's captivity. Vijayadithya escaped from his captivity and returned to the South and ascended the throne.

Yuddhamalla, Sahasarasika and Satyashraya were the titles of Vinayadithya. Vinayavati was his queen who survived him. He had two sons, the second being Arikesari, the founder of the Vemulavada branch, as pointed out by Panchamukhi. His daughter Kunkumadevi was married to Alupa Chitravahana.

Dr. Fleet has fixed the date of Vijayadithya's accession to be 696 A.D. with the help of his Aihole Record. The only major event of his otherwise peaceful reign was his defeat of Pallava Parameshwara Varman II in 730. This campaign was led by crown prince Vikramadithya II. It looks that Pandya Kochchadaiyan invaded the empire in the west coast, and laid siege to Mangalore in c. 705-6. But Alupa Chitravahana, Vijayaditya's brother-in-law, repulsed the Pandya. Vijayadithya built the Vijayeshwara temple at Puttadakal.

His son Vikramadithya II came to the throne in 734, as can be made out from his Lakshmeshwar Record. The records of the Eastern Chalukyas inform us that he had a brother called Bhima, the ancestor of their line.

The most important achievement of this prince was his capture of Kanchi, soon after his coming to the throne, in c. 735. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam feels that he also had supported the cause of Pallava Chitramaya as against Nandi Varman II. He entered Kanchi victorious, but did no harm to the city. He donated heaps of gold to the Rajasimheshwara (Kailasanatha) temple and inscribed a Kannada record there on a column, recording the grant. Though Vikrama II had retaliated for the Pallava act of capturing Badami in 642, he did not "churn" Kanchi, which the Pallavas claimed to have done to Badami. "Vikramadithya on the whole behaved considerately" says Prof. K. A. N. Sastry. Later again crown prince Kirthivarman laid siege to Kanchi for a third time, and the Pattadakal Record of Vikrama's queens says that the emperor vanquished Kanchi three times, the first such act being in the days of his father when he had been the crown prince.

The Arabs, who had captured Sind and were trying to penetrate into the Deccan, were severely defeated by Avani-jashraya Pulakeshin, the Chalukya governor at Lata in c. 739. Thus the Deccan was saved from these powerful invaders.

Vikrama's two queens, Haihaya sisters from Tripuri, built two temples at Pattadakal, namely, Lokeshwara and Trailokeshwara, the finest Chalukyan monuments, at present known as Virupaksha and Mallikarjuna respectively. The names of these queens were Lokadevi and Trailokadevi. The first was administering Kurtukoti region. Prince Kirthivarman was the son of the latter.

Though distinguished himself as the crown prince in the days of his father by his Kanchi campaign, Kirthivarman II, who came to the throne in c. 744, lost his kingdom to Rashtrakuta Danthidurga in 753, when the latter appears to

have captured Badami. He was completely defeated by Krishna I, Dantidurga's successor by 757. With this the Rashtrakutas succeeded to the vast empire of the Chalukyas. It appears that Kirthivarma II was also known as Rahappa.

Administration: The Chalukyas, being the successors of the Kadambas, living in an age when the Imperial Guptas had dominated the Indian political scene, followed the administrative traditions of both these dynasties. Like the Guptas, the Chalukyan emperors discarded the modest title *rajan* and in imitation of the Persian Shah-en-Shah, called themselves *Maharajadhirajas* and assumed other titles like *Parameshwara* and *Parama Bhattaraka*. The Aihole Record of Pulakeshin II speaks of *mantrashakti* or good counsel, rendered by ministers. But mention of any minister in records is absent except the *Mahasandhivigrahika* or the minister for war and peace (the foreign minister). Under Vinayadithya one Srirama Punyavallabha held the office. Niravadya Punyavallabha held the same post under Vijayadithya. This official also drafted all donative records, and therefore he must have been the keeper of records too. In addition, some learned person of the status of a *guru* also appears to have existed. Kirthivarma I had Mahabrahmana Vyaghraswamin, Pulakeshin II Nagavardhanacharya and Vikramadithya I Sudarshanacharya who initiated him to Shaivism. This is all we know from the records about the king's ministerial council.

The crown prince assisted the king in administration. At times the king's brother was appointed to that position.

The army had elephants, cavalry and infantry. Hiuen-Tsiang speaks of hundreds of elephants in the Chalukyan army. These animals were intoxicated with liquor before being sent for war. The Chalukyas also had a strong navy. It was with the help of a fleet that Mangalesha could reduce Revatidveepa and Pulakeshin II could take Puri. Reference to Vijayaskandhavaras or military camps are found in many records. The mighty army of the Chalukyas was famous as *Karnatabala* and is praised as invincible.

Together with land revenue known as *siddaya*, *vaddaravula* (tax levied to support members of the royal family), levy on loads (*herjunka*), *kirukula* or excise on retail goods in transit, *bilkode* or sales tax and *pannaya* or tax on betel leaves are mentioned in records. The levy of profession taxes was also in vogue, in continuation of earlier practice.

The gold coin *gadyana* is mentioned in one record of Pattadakal Vijayeshwara temple. In later days it was also known as *varaha*, and the name must have originated in the Chalukyan times as their royal emblem was Varaha, and their coins had the emblem of the divine boar. It weighed 120 grains in imitation of the Gupta coins, says Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy.

The country was divided into *Maharashtrakas* or great provinces, and they in turn into *rashttrakas*, also known as *mandalas*. *Vishaya* or a district was the next unit. *Vanavasi mandala* had *Edevotal vishaya* in it. *Bhoga* was a smaller unit than *vishaya*. It must have consisted of a group of villages. This unit may be similar to the units of the Kadamba period known as *dasa-gramas*, *dwadasagramas* and so on. The Sanjan Record of Vikrama I speaks of one such *dwadasagrama* unit. In addition to the imperial provinces, there were units ruled by subordinate princes, who enjoyed autonomy like the Gangas, Alupas, Banas, *Sandrakas* and others. Members of the royal family were appointed as governors over imperial provinces, including ladies like *Vijayanka* and *Lokamahadevi*.

Local assemblies and communal guilds looked after local matters. The *agrahara* at Badami was administered by 2000 *mahajanas* and that at Aihole by 500. Guilds of cobblers, flower sellers, garland makers, masons etc., existed at Badami, and perhaps in all towns. A Puligere (*Lakshmeshwara*) Record speaks of the 18 *prakritis* or caste groups of the place. Puligere had an assembly of 300. The merchant guild of Aihole, which became so celebrated during later days as *Ayyavole* 500, originated during these days, though it did not consist of 500 merchants. The town of Puligere was granted

a charter by crown prince Vikramadithya by which mahajanas, nagaras (merchant guilds) and 18 *prakritis* came to be recognised.

The administrative machinery that had existed in the days of the Kadambas, must have continued under the Chalukyas at the local level.

Religious Conditions : The Chalukyas were followers of Vedic religion and they performed various sacrifices including *ashwamedha*. It was a period when temples came to be constructed on an unprecedented scale. Vishnu, Shiva, Kartikeya, Ganapathi, Shakthi, Surya, Sapta Matrikas and the other Hindu deities were popularly worshipped. The Chalukyas were initially Vaishnavas and Varaha was their emblem. Later, Vikramaditya I accepted Shaivism. But they patronised all religions. Ravikirthi, a commander of Pulakeshin II was a Jain, and he erected a Jinalaya at Aihole. The caves in Badami testify to the flourishing of Shaivism, Vaishnavism and Jainism. Buddhism was also popular, but was on the decline, as testified by Hiuen-Tsiang. In the kingdom there were 100 *sangharamas* and 10,000 *bhikkus*, says the traveller. Lakulashaivas were active and representations of Lakulesa are found in the Chalukyan monuments. Puligere was a strong centre of Jainism.

Queen Vinayavati built a temple for Trimurti at Badami. The Trimurtis are found engraved on the ceilings of many temples. Harihara and Ardhanarishwara are also found in the Badami Caves. This indicates the tolerant spirit of the age.

Social and Economic Conditions : The social set-up did not change from the earlier periods. The 18 *prakritis* or castes are mentioned in records of the period. Women enjoyed enough freedom, if one can generalise from the example of members of the royal family like Vijayanka and Lokamahadevi, who participated in public activities. Vijayanka is celebrated as a Sanskrit poetess. Prostitution was recognised, and prostitutes were not looked down upon. One Vinapoti, a

concubine of Vijayadithya, is mentioned with due respect in one grant. Devadasis also existed. *Sathi* was not yet popular, as we come across widows like Vinayavathi in records. The sculptural representations in the Chalukyan monuments give us an idea about the dress and ornaments of the people.

Various kinds of musical instruments like *Veena*, flute, conch, drums etc., are found in these sculptures. Dancing girls are also carved. One record speaks of one actor called Achala who is described as well versed in Bharata's *Natya-shastra*. Thus music, dance and drama were in an advanced condition.

Agraharas and *ghatikas* flourished and encouraged learning. Badami and Aihole had large *agraraharas*. We get no details on primary education, though Hiuen-Tsiang states some details on India in general.

Both Sanskrit and Kannada languages flourished, and considerable number of records are written in Kannada, including the Badami Cave Record of Mangalesha, which is the earliest. The Kappe Arabhatta's Record of Badami dated c. 700 has the first pieces of Kannada poetry in *tripadi* metre. No major Kannada work has come down to us. But Dr. M. Chidananda Murthy feels that the *Karnateshwara Katha* mentioned by Jayakirthi must be a Kannada work of this period having Pulakeshin II as the hero. The Aihole Sanskrit Record is a great literary composition of Ravikirthi. Another noted literary figure in Sanskrit of the period is Vijayanka or Vijjika. Noted critic Rajashekhara has called her as Sarawathi for her great poetic accomplishments. Pujiyapada appears to have written his commentary on Panini, *shabdavathara* in Chalukyan territory.

Professions like cobblers, weavers, silk weavers, garland makers, flower sellers, stone cutters, masons etc. are mentioned in records. Cosmos Indicopleustus speaks of the flourishing overseas trade with China, Malaya and Africa. No doubt the

Arabs were actively trading at the Indian ports. Mangalore, Thana, Sopara and Kaiyana were flourishing ports.

Art and Architecture : The greatest achievement of the Chalukyas is in the field of art and architecture. Nearly 100 monuments of their period are found scattered in the Malaprabha basin. They also influenced the art of the rulers of Vengi and those of Gujarat. The Rashtrakutas and the Later Chalukyas followed them. The South Indian temple took its form, after many experiments during their period. They have left behind both rock-cut and structural monuments, wrought in hard sand stone. "The Badami Chalukyas had introduced a glorious chapter, alike in heroism in battle and cultural magnificence in peace, in Western-Deccan", says K. V. Soundararajan, speaking about the Chalukyan art.

The rock-cut structures or caves at Aihole and Badami, and the temples at these two places and Pattadakal are the important works of the Chalukyan art. Aihole has been called "one of the cradles of Indian temple architecture" by Percy Brown.

The buildings of the Chalukyas have been described as of Vesara style, a combination of the South Indian or Dravida and the North Indian or Nagara styles.

Their earliest structures are the rock-cut ones at Aihole and Badami. The building of rock-cut and structural works went side by side. Three rock-cut structures, one Jaina, one Hindu and one Buddhist which is incomplete, are found at Aihole and they are the earliest works. They are in their elementary stage. But the developed types are at Badami, three Brahmanical and one Jaina. These Badami Caves have three common features, viz., a pillared verandah, a columned hall and a small square cella or *garbhagriha*, cut deep into the rock. Though the frontage is dull, in the interior, the spectator "finds himself bewildered by the wealth of symbolism and mystical imagery which surrounds him on all sides" says

Brown. Here are found wonderful images of Ardhanarishwara, Harihara, Mahisha Mardini, Vishnu seated on the serpent, Narasimha, Varaha, Trivikrama and Nataraja (the last one found at the outset in the first cave). These giant figures, in their vigorous style, are great pieces of art by all standards. "The Chalukyas cut rocks like Titans and finished like jewellers", says Dr. M. Sheshadri.

The inner halls have rows of pillars mostly square in section or polygonal with beautiful floral designs and supporting fine bracket figures, mostly amorous couple.

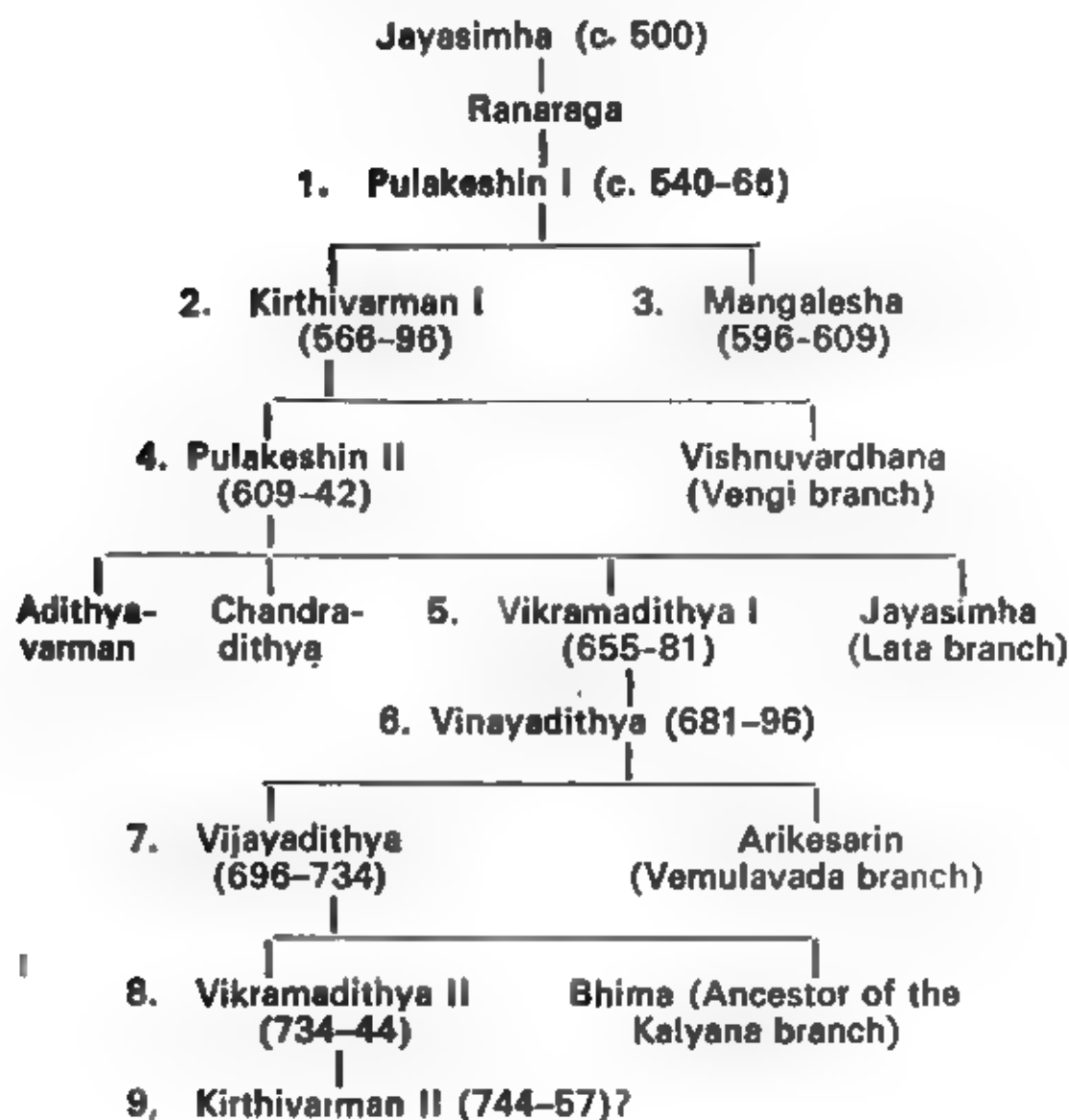
Aihole is one of the earliest centres of structural architecture. Gaudaragudi and Ladkhan are the earliest temples at Aihole and Ladkhan has a simple hall, open in front and covered on three sides. The hall contains two square groups of pillars, one square laid within the other. The central small square has the Nandi at its centre. On the western side, against the back wall is *garbhagriha*. *Kalasha motifs* and the Ganga and the Yamuna images on the doorframe indicate considerable Gupta influence too. The Durga temple with an apsidal or horse shoe back, resembling a *chaitya* is another important monument at Aihole. Huchchimalli Gudi, has for the first time, the antechamber or *antharala* in front of the *garbhagriha*. It is covered by a projection or *shukhanasa* from the *vimana* or tower on the *garbhagriha*. This *ardhamantapa* roof has been considered "the most lasting contribution of early Chalukyan structural art".

The buildings like the Papanatha (c. 680), Sangameshwara (Vijayeshwara, c. 725), Virupaksha (Lokeshwara, c. 740), Mallikarjuna (Trailokeshwara, c. 740) and Galaganatha (c. 740) are the first structural examples of the flowering of the Chalukyan art. The Papanatha has a large antechamber, and its tower (*vimana*) is Northern and is curvilinear. Galaganatha also has a curvilinear *vimana*. The finest building is Virupaksha temple with its Dravida tower. "There is a bold beauty in the appearance of the Virupaksha temple as a whole, which is

best seen in the exterior", says Brown. The Chalukyas of Vengi too built temples in Andhra at Alampur, Sathyavolu and Bichchavolu in this style.

The Chalukyas conducted experiments in Southern and Northern styles with further fruitful developments. Revadi Ovajja, Narasobba and Anivarita Gunda were some of the noted architects of the period. The sculptural representations of the period, whether floral or human, are marked by their plastic beauty and serene and restrained expressions. The caves at Badami had paintings in gay colours, which have recently vanished. But critics have praised them as pieces of great merit.

CHALUKYA GENEALOGY



CHAPTER V

THE RASHTRAKUTAS

The Rashtrakutas who overthrow the Chalukyas of Badami, became masters of the whole of Deccan from the middle of the 8th century. Inscriptions are the chief source of information for the study of their history. There are certain Kannada works like *Kavirajamarga* and *Vikramarjunavijaya* of Pampa which serve as source material together with the Sanskrit works of Rajashekhara, Somadeva, Gunabhadra, Jinasena and others. In addition to these writings, Arab travellers like Suleiman, Ibn Haukal, Al Masudi and Al Istakhri also have some information to reveal on this mighty dynasty.

Origin : There were a number of Rashtrakuta families ruling in India at that time and even earlier. The word Rashtrakuta appears to stand for the administrator of a province or rashtra. This is analogous to the word gramakuta standing for the village official. Scholars have tried to connect these Rashtrakutas with some of the Rashtrakuta families ruling in various parts of India. There was one Rashtrakuta family ruling from Manapura in Malava. But this family had the lion crest. The Rashtrakutas of Malkhed had a golden eagle or Garuda as their emblem. Therefore these two families cannot be identical.

Records of another Rashtrakuta family are found in the Amaravathi District of modern Maharashtra, namely the Tivarkhed and the Multhai Inscriptions. These were issued from Achalapura, modern Elichpur. This must have been their capital. As these grants have Garuda *lanchna*, it can be inferred that they were related to the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed. This line has names that are identical with those of the Malkhed rulers. This has been pointed out by Dr. Altekar. It

is not possible to connect them with half-a-dozen families of the same name that were ruling mostly in North India.

Dr. A. C. Burnell connects them with the Reddis of Andhra, and thus attributes Telugu origin to them. Dr. Fleet believes that they were Rajputs, and he connects them with the Rathors. We know for certain that the Rathor family is of a later origin and they do not regard themselves in any way related to the Rashtrakutas. C. V. Vaidya calls them Marathas. But no Marathi records of the Rashtrakutas are available to us. Some scholars quote the Samangad Epigraph of Dantidurga who claims to have defeated the "Karnatabala" of the Chalukyas, and attribute a non-Kannada origin to his family.

Records of Amoghavarsha says that the Rashtrakutas are of Rattavamsa and are "Lattalurapuravaradhiswaras". Like the Gangas calling themselves as Kuvalalapuradhiswaras or the Kalachuris as Kalinjarapuravaradhiswaras the Rashtrakutas may have referred to their original home through this epithet. Lattalur is identified as Latur (in the present Osmanabad District) by Dr. Fleet. That was a purely Kannada-speaking area then.

Secondly, many of their personal names, such as Kambarasa, Asagavve, Revakka, Abbalebbe etc., also indicates that they were a Kannada family. Thirdly, the viceroys of Gujarat of the same family have signed their names in Kannada even in their Sanskrit inscriptions. Karka I of the Gujarat line has signed in Kannada characters in his Navsari and Baroda Plates. His son Dhruva II has also signed in Kannada script in his Baroda Plates. This has made Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar to remark thus: "The Gujarat Rashtrakuta princes used the mode of writing that prevailed in the native country of the race to which they belonged". Fourthly, the word Rashtrakuta must have been derived from the word Ratta, which looks to be a Kannada word. The Deoli and Karhad Records say that there was a prince called Ratta and his son was

Rashtrakuta. Thus it is indicated that Ratta is the original word from which Rashtrakuta is derived. The word Rattagudlu is found in many records from Andhra Pradesh, indicating that it stood for an office. It is found in records that are earlier to the eighth century. Thus it is argued that Ratta is a Dravidian and South Indian word. The records of the Rashtrakutas, as already seen, also call them as belonging to Ratta Vamsha. Their later successors are known only as the Rattas. Dr. Desai feels that the word Lattalura must be a variant of Rattanura, as it is also mentioned in the records as Lattanura. Thus Ratta, also meaning Latta, must be the origin of the word Rashtrakuta.

Scholars like Dr. Altekar have also argued on some of the above grounds that the Rashtrakutas were of Kannada origin. Their ruling from Elishpur need not make them people of northern origin, he says "Under the Chalukyas of Badami, a Canarese-speaking dynasty was founded in Gujarat and another in the Telugu-speaking Andhra country. The predecessors of Dantidurga may similarly have carved out a domain in Berar away from their home in Karnataka", he adds.

It is only to explain their victory against the noted army of the Chalukyas which was known all over the country as "Karnatabala", and considered as invincible, that the Rashtrakutas must have called themselves as the vanquishers of Karnatabala. This need not make them people of non-Kannada origin. Their records are found only in Sanskrit and Kannada. As far away as in Jura, there is a Kannada record. This Jura Record in Madhya Pradesh is in Kannada language and Kannada script and was caused to be written by Krishna III. This demonstrates their love for Kannada language.

In their later records, like those of Sanjan, Deoli and Karhad, they call themselves as belonging to Yadava *vamsha* and Tunga *anvaya*. Some records try to personify Ratta as already seen, and some others even Tunga. All these are later innovations and require no serious notice. "Both Ratta and

Tunga are imaginary rather than real rulers", says Dr. Altekar. The latter perhaps is only an attempt to explain the title assumed by the Rashtrakutas like Nripatunga, Jagattunga and Shubhatunga.

The Ellora Record of Danthidurga says that he defeated the Chalukyas and captured Badami. This event appears to have taken place in 753 A.D. The same record gives a long genealogical account of his ancestry. He was the son of Indra, grandson of Karka and great grandson of Govindaraja. His father Indra, married a Chalukya princess of the Gujarat line according to the Samangad Plates and her name is given as Bhavanaga. Indra took her by force from her marriage pandal and married her by *rakshasa vidhana*, as made known by the later Sanjan Plates. Danthidurga was the son of this Chalukya princess. The Rashtrakutas were previously subordinates of the Chalukyas and the Samangad Plates of Danthidurga say that he defeated the invincible "Karnatabala" of the Chalukyas and captured Badami. He claims victory over the rulers of Lata and Malava. He performed the *hīranyagarbha* ceremony and at that time he made Pratihara Harichandra, ruler of Malava, door keeper of the pandal where the ceremony was performed. Danthidurga was a great general, and he succeeded in maintaining the administrative machinery in good order soon after acquiring a vast empire.

He was succeeded by his paternal uncle Krishna (Kannara) I, as known from the Poona Plates of 758. His date of accession can be taken as c. 756. Krishna had to face one of his cousins, Karkaraja, who claimed the Rashtrakuta throne. He also defeated Kirthivarman II, the fugitive Chalukya prince decisively. He conquered South Konkana and posted there Sanaphulla, a Shilahara prince, as governor. He defeated the Gangas and made Shripurusha his feudatory. Prince Govinda invaded Vengi in 770 and defeated Chalukya Vishnuvardhana IV. This Rashtrakuta-Chalukya rivalry continued for many generations. The last known date of Krishna I is 772 as found in his Bhandak Record. His Alas Plates of 770 speak

of Govinda, his son, as *yuvaraja*. One of his memorable acts was the construction of the famous Kailasanatha Temple at Ellora, which is monolithic. In the days of Krishna I, the Rashtrakuta empire expanded to three times the extent than it had been in the days of his predecessor. He had titles like Akalavarsha and Shubatunga. His son Govinda II succeeded him in 774. But Govinda II resigned himself to a life of ease and his brother Dhruva administered the empire.

Dhruva : Though the Pimpri Grant of 775 of Dhruva altogether ignores his elder brother, Emperor Govinda II was still ruling till 779. The Garugadahalli record of 782 proclaims Dhruva as the emperor.

Dhruva was ruling as governor over the Nasik-Khandesh region and we know from the Karhad Plates of Krishna III that Govinda II gave himself to a life of pleasure and vices and that he had entrusted the administration to Dhruva. Dr. Altekar feels that there was a civil war for succession. But K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar feels that Govinda had abdicated peacefully in favour of his brother. This view is supported by Dr. Desai who says that "The transfer of royal authority was smooth and without a hitch".

Subrahmanya Aiyar has pointed out by quoting the Proddaturu Record that "sensual pleasures made Govinda careless of his kingdom, and that he entrusted fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother", and allowed his position to become loose. Karhad Plates also echo a similar view. Dhruva must have acceded to the throne in c. 780 and he was a mature man at the time and had grown-up sons like Karka of the Dhulia Grant of 779, the last record of Govinda II. Kalivallabha, Srivallabha and Dharavarsha were the titles of Dhruva.

Soon after his accession, his eldest son Karka appears to have died. Dhruva assisted by his sons, Govinda and Indra, embarked on an ambitious expedition. He crossed the Narmada with a view to capture Kanauj, which was considered as the seat of India's paramountcy. Dhruva defeated Vatsaraja. Next

he had to face Dharmapala of the Pala Dynasty of Bengal, who was eager to become the master of Kanauj. The Pala was vanquished in the Ganga-Yamuna Doab. Dhruva acquired the two royal umbrellas, one of the Vatsaraja and the other of Goudaraja (ruler of Bengal) and the Karda Record says that Kalivallabha had acquired three white umbrellas. "Dhruva's expedition in northern India was merely of the nature of a *digvijaya*. It probably brought him no substantial gain, apart from fame and booty that might have obtained", says Dr. Altekar. The Gangas, who were related to the Chalukyas, defied the new empire. In 788, when Ganga Shivamara II came to the throne. Dhruva imprisoned Shivamara and appointed prince Kambarasa or Sthambha, as governor of Gangavadi. Prior to this, Dhruva appears to have proceeded against Vengi, perhaps soon after his northern campaign. Vishnuvardhana IV of Vengi cultivated friendship with Dhruva and married his daughter, Shilabhattarika, to Dhruva. The Jetvai Grant of 786 mentions her name. His Vengi campaign must have taken place in c. 784. He defeated Nandivarman Pallava and collected a large number of elephants as tribute from him. After his northern campaign he must have undertaken his expedition against Kanchi in 785, followed by that against the Gangas in 788. Dhruva's last known date is April 793. He had appointed his son Govinda III as the crown prince.

Dhruva was "one of the ablest of the Rashtrakuta rulers. During a short reign of 13 years, he not only established Rashtrakuta ascendancy in the South, he made the Rashtrakutas an all-India power", says Dr. Altekar. Dhruva had four sons : Karka, who had predeceased him, Kamba, Govinda and Indra. The last named was a viceroy in Gujarat.

Govinda III : The first known date of Govinda III is May 794 (Paithan Plates). His elder brother, Kamba, who was administering Gangavadi, appears to have revolted against his brother with the help of 12 powerful rulers, as made known by the Navsari Record. The Sisvayi Grant of 807 informs us about his victory against this confederacy. The Sanjan Plates

informs us that he treated his brother leniently, and he was strongly supported by his brother, Indra in this war.

When Kamba had revolted against his younger brother, Govinda III released Shivamara II, the Ganga ruler, from prison. The Pallavas also helped them. But the confederacy was defeated by Govinda as already noted, and both Kamba and Shivamara, were taken captive. Shivamara was again imprisoned and Kamba was reappointed viceroy in Gangavadi.

Mayurkhandi, modern Morkhandi in Bidar District, was the capital of Govinda. From here he conducted his northern campaign after the suppression of his brother's revolt. It was perhaps in about 800 that he marched towards Kanauj.

Chakrayudha, the ruler of Kanauj, was a mere puppet in the hands of Dharmapala of Bengal. Gurjara Pratihara Nagabhata II had defeated Chakrayudha and Dharmapala came to the rescue of Chakrayudha. When Govinda proceeded against Kanauj, Nagabhata opposed him and later ran away from the battle field. Then Govinda marched further North and Chakrayudha surrendered to him even before he could reach Kanauj. Dharmapala also submitted voluntarily. He levied tribute on both the rulers.

"Govinda's horses drank the icy liquid bubbling in the Himalayan stream and his war-elephants tasted the holy waters of the river Ganga", say the Sanjan Plates on this achievement of Govinda. Half-way back, while camping at Sribhavan, Govinda begot prince Sharva. This prince is the later emperor Amoghavarsha. On his return, Govinda had to war against Vengi. Govinda installed Bhima Salki on the Vengi throne, as Vijayadithya II did not acknowledge Rashtrakuta suzerainty. There followed a civil war in Vengi after this. Next he proceeded against the Pallavas and defeated Danthi-varman and camped at Kanchi in about 803. It was during his sojourn at Kanchi that the ruler of Ceylon sent him two statues, one of his own and the other of his minister, and expressed submission to Govinda. It is after this victory that his Nasari

Record was issued and it states that the Cholas, Keralas and the Pandyas voluntarily paid tribute to him.

Govinda expanded the Rashtrakuta dominion to a great extent. Gujarat, Kosala, parts of Andhra and Gangavadi were acquired by him. Over Lata he appointed his brother Indra as viceroy, who was later succeeded by his son Karka Suvarnavarsha. Govinda had titles such as Prabhutavarsha, Jagattunga, Anupama, Kirthinarayana, and Tribhuvanadhavala. Gavundabbe was his chief queen. Dr. Altekar calls him "the ablest of the Rashtrakuta emperors", and adds: "The victorious march of his armies had literally embraced all the territory between the Himalayas and the Cape Camorin. Even the king of Ceylon was terrified into submission. Never again did the prestige of the Rashtrakutas reach this high level". Under him the Rashtrakuta Empire attained the zenith of its glory. The last record of Govinda II is his Torkhede Record of December 813 and he must have died early next year.

Amoghavarsha I: Amoghavarsha was born at Sribhavan when Govinda III was staying there on his way back from his northern campaign. This information is given by the Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha dated 871, the most important source of information on Govinda III and Amogavarsha. The Manne Record (803) says that Govinda had stayed at Sribhavan and we are sure that Amogavarsha was born in 800 which was the year of his father's stay there. The Sirur Plates of Amoghavarsha, issued in his 52nd regnal year, helps us to fix his initial year as 814. He was a boy of 14 when he came to the throne and had as guardian, his cousin Karka Suvarnavarsha of Gujarat, son of Indra, uncle of Amoghavarsha. There was a revolt of feudatories, ministers and relations soon after Amoghavarsha came to the throne. The Sanjan Plates say that Patalamalla helped the king to suppress the revolt and we know from the Surat Record of Karka that the reference here is to Karka himself. Bhagavanlal Indraji has also identified that Patalamalla is none other than Karka.

The first revolt was of Ganga Shivamara II whom Govinda III had set free. The Hiregundagal Record says that Shivamara died fighting against Vallabha, that is, Rashtrakuta, perhaps in 816 at Kagemogeyur. Rachamalla, the next Ganga ruler, continued the war with greater vigour. Bankesha, the southern governor of Amoghavarsha was even defeated at Rajaramadu by the Gangas. Though the Gangas did not succeed in completely freeing themselves from the overlordship of the Rashtrakutas, the Rashtrakutas had to follow a conciliatory policy towards them. Amoghavarsha married one of his daughters, Chandrabhalabbe, to prince Buthuga, son of Ganga Neethimarga. Another daughter, Revakanimmadi, was given in marriage to prince Ereganga of the same family.

These revolts must have taken place between 818 and 820 and Amoghavarsha himself must have been even shaken from his throne. But he succeeded in suppressing all such revolts and was secure in his position in 821, as indicated by the Surat Record of Karkaraja. Bhima Salki who had been enthroned at Vengi was evicted from his position by Vijayadithya II and the latter claims that he had defeated the Rashtrakutas in 108 battles. He marched into the Rashtrakuta territory and even captured Sthambha, modern Kammamettu, a Rashtrakuta stronghold. But Amoghavarsha drew the Chalukyas back and defeated them severely at Vingavalli. The Bagumara Record of Indra III says that Amoghavarsha saved the Ratta kingdom, which was "drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas", and assumed the title Viranarayana. The Cambay and Sangli Records say that Amoghavarsha sacrificed the Chalukyas to Yama at Vingavalli.

Later he developed friendly relations with the Chalukyas. Vijayadithya's son Vishnuvardhana V had a queen, Shilamahadevi, a Ratta princess. She was the sister of Karka of Gujarat. But Vishnuvardhana V, son of Vijayadithya II, who succeeded his father in c. 845 continued to be hostile towards the Rashtrakutas. He defeated Shankaragana, the Kalachuri feudatory of the Rashtrakutas ruling at Tripuri in Central India

and even captured and burnt Elichpur. But Amoghavarsha had him killed in c. 846. His son Gunaga Vijayadithya III remained loyal to Amoghavarsha. Amoghavarsha also defeated the recalcitrant Alupa prince Vimaladithya in c. 850 and brought Alvakheda-6000 province under the empire's control. Amoghavarsha had friendly relations with the Pallavas. Nandivarman Pallava did not wish to antagonise the Rashtrakutas as he had to face the Pandyas. Rashtrakuta army lead by prince Krishna had even killed a Pandya prince at Tellaru in c. 852. Narasimhavarman had married a Ratta princess called Sankha. Her son, Nripathunga, later succeeded to the Pallava throne. On the basis of the name of this prince, Dr. Hultzsch and other scholars have opined that she must be a daughter of Amoghavarsha. Dhruva, son of Karka of Gujarat, also revolted, and lost his life.

Though during his initial years Amoghavarsha had to face trouble, he succeeded in suppressing all his enemies. He followed a policy of peace and developed friendly relations with all his neighbours like the Gangas, Chalukyas and the Pallavas. He entered into matrimonial relations with them. He did not follow an expansionist policy like his father and grandfather. The Nilagunda Records say that he was being worshipped by the rulers of Vanga, Anga, Magadha, Malava and Vengi. At least that the latter two were in friendly relations with him is clear. He built a new capital Malkhed. Prior to this, Mayurkhandi was the capital.

Amoghavarsha was a scholar himself and was a great patron of scholars. *Prashnottara Rathnamala* a Sanskrit work and *Kavirajamarga* a Kannada work are ascribed to him.

Shakatayana, Mahaveera, Veerasena, Jinasena and Gunabhadra were all Amoghavarsha's contemporaries and were patronised by him. His queen was Asagavve. He had titles like Nripatunga, Atishayadhavala, Veeranarayana, Rattmarthanda and Shrivallabha. He was a ruler of religious temperament and had abdicated his throne more than once to spend his time in religious activities. The Sanjan Plates state that he

had cut his thumb and made a votive offering of it to Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur when there was a severe famine in his kingdom. He has been compared to Bali, Shibi and Jimutavahana for this act of his.

Jinasena in *Adipurana* claims that he was Amoghavarsha's preceptor or *guru*. Mahaveera says that the king followed Jainism. But we know from other sources that he continued to be a devoted Vaishnava. Suleiman, the Arab traveller (851) calls his Empire as one among the four great empires in the world. For his religious temperament and his peace-loving rule, Panchamukhi calls him a great king comparable to Ashoka.

Amoghavarsha's empire was divided into 16 provinces according to the Sanjan Plates (871). Bankesha was his loyal feudatory and commander, ruling over considerable parts of the southern territory.

He ruled till 878 when Veerasena's *Jayadhavala* was completed. Krishna II, son of Amoghavarsha, was the next ruler says the Hirebidri Record. He ascended the throne in Shaka 800, and that must have been the year when Amoghavarsha died.

Krishna II had to continue a long-drawn war with the Chalukyas of Vengi in which he had to face defeats more than once. Krishna had married one of his daughters to Adithya Chola and striven to secure the Chola throne for his own grandson Kannara. He failed in this effort. But he succeeded in defeating Gurjara-Parateehara Bhoja and levying tribute on him. He put an end to the rule of the Gujarat branch of the Rashtrakutas and brought the territory under his direct rule. The teacher of his boyhood days, Gunabhadra completed *Adipurana* started by Jinasena. Krishna had titles like Akalavarsha and Shubhatunga. His last known date is 912 (Sorab 88).

Indra III : Both the Karhad and Deoli Plates of Krishna III inform us that Indra III was the son of Jagattunga, son of

Krishna II, and Indra's father had predeceased Krishna II. The Bagumra Plates help us know that he must have ascended the throne by the close of 914.

Soon after Indra's accession, a prince called Upendra annexed Govardhana, a place near Nasik, and Indra wasted no time in repulsing him. This Upendra is identified by Dr. Altekar with the Paramara ruler who was a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. The Paramaras became the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas after this victory of Indra. The civil war in the Gurjara-Pratihara family gave Indra an opportunity to invade North India. Two sons of Mahendrapala were engaged in a fight. From the Cambay Plates we learn that Indra crossed the Jamuna and captured Kanauj, the then seat of India's paramountcy, controlled by the Gurjara-Pratiharas. He sent his Chalukya feudatory Narasimha of Vemulavada to pursue Mahipala and we learn from Pampa that, 'Mahipala fled as if struck by thunderbolt', and Narasimha, pursuing him, 'bathed his horses in the Ganges'.

"The Northern campaign of Indra thus produced a more dramatic result than was ever achieved by his predecessors, Dhruva and Govinda, neither of whom had succeeded in occupying the imperial capital Kanauj", says Dr. Altekar. Indra III held Kanauj till 916. Indra was the son of the Chedi princess, Lakshmi, as made known by the Sangli Plates, and he himself had married a princess of the same family, Vijamba, daughter of king Ammanadeva, his maternal uncle, as made known by the same record.

In his war with the Vengi rulers, Indra III defeated Chalukya Bhima and his own feudatory of Vemulavada, Baddega even took Bhima captive. But later Bhima's general, Panduranga got his master released. Bhima's son Vijayadithya IV died in a war with the Rashtrakuta at Virajapuri in 922, soon after his accession. He was succeeded by his son Amma, and after him, Vijayadithya V ascended the throne. But Tala, another member of the Chalukya family, ousted Vijayadithya V with the help of Indra. But the rule of Tala was

also short-lived as he was murdered within a month. One of his Jaina generals, Shrivijaya, also a poet, won for Indra all these victories in his eastern exploits.

Though his last records are the Sanjan Plates of 926, Indra III must have ruled till 929. Nithyavarsha, Rattakandarpa, Rajamarthanda and Kirthinarayana were his titles. He had in his court, in addition to Shrivijaya, a noted Sanskrit poet, Trivikrama the author of *Nalachampu* and also of the Bagumra Plates of Indra III.

After the death of Indra III in 929, he was succeeded by his son Amoghavarsha II, who according to the Bhadana Plates of the Shilaharas, ruled only for one year. His younger brother Govinda IV set him aside in 930 and ascended the throne. The Prince of Wales Museum Record says that Govinda IV was overthrown by Amoghavarsha III and the former himself was guilty of a similar act. Govinda IV came to the throne in 930 as made known by the Kalasa Stone Record. He was a weak ruler, and Kanauj, captured by Indra III, slipped out of the Rashtrakuta hands during his time. The Chalukyas of Vengi also defeated him. Finally, his own feudatories revolted against him, and crowned Amoghavarsha III (Baddegadeva). The Deoli Record and Pampa inform us that Govinda IV was overthrown because he lead a licentious life and harrassed his subjects. Amoghavarsha III was the younger brother of Indra III and he was an exile at the court of Tripuri. Pampa and the Deoli and Karhad Plates give us information about his relationship with the previous rulers. Pampa's patron, Arikesarin of Vemulavada, was also one of the feudatories who had helped Amoghavarsha III to ascend the throne. Crown prince Krishna III defeated his own relations, the Kalachuris of Tripuri during the days of his father, and also the Gurjara-Pratiharas. He dethroned Gangaraja Rajamalla III and crowned his own brother-in-law Buthuga II in the South in 938. He also defeated Nolamba Anniga.

Krishna III: Krishna succeeded his father in 939 as known from the Record, Sorab 476. Even as the crown prince,

he had proved himself to be an able warrior and diplomat. In fact he played a prominent role in espousing the cause of his father, Amoghavarsha III. His Deoli Record of 940 says that he had punished Danthiga and Vappuka, two refractory chiefs, in the days of his father. He had also killed Ganga Rajamalla III as already seen. He also invaded the territory of the Gurjara-Pratiharas, captured Chitrakuta and Kalinjara which they wanted to secure from the Chedis. The Karhad Record says that he even defeated his own relations, the Chedis of Tripuri, with whose help his father had come to the throne.

Within three years of his coming to the throne, he invaded the Bana and Vaidumba territories which were formerly under the Rashtrakutas. These rulers had given shelter to Govinda IV who was matrimonially allied to the Cholas. Initially Krishna appears to have met with reverses as indicated by the Kanyakumari Record of Parantaka who appears to have defeated Krishna III and assumed the title Virachola. But soon by 944, Krishna occupied Tondaimandalam. Krishna's Siddalingamadam Record of that year states that he had captured Kanchi and Tanjore. The Karhad Record of 959 finds him camping at Melpati in North Arcot District. In the battle fought at Takkolam near Arkonam (North Arcot District) in about 959, Rajadithya Chola, the crown prince, was killed by Ganga Buthuga II, and the Cholas were decisively defeated. The Atakur Inscription of Ganga Buthuga gives a graphic description of this victory and he says that he killed Rajadithya, seated on an elephant. In return for this service, Krishna III conferred on Buthuga extensive Ratta territories. The Karhad Plates inform us that after this victory Krishna defeated the Pandyas and the Keralas and extracted tribute from Ceylon, and erected a pillar of victory at Rameshvaram. This statement is found repeated in Somadeva's *Yashastilaka Champu*. But Prof. Sathianathaier feels that Krishna must have had complete control over Tondaimandalam only, for beyond that his records are not found, and they are numerous in Tondaimandalam. Krishna continued to hold these possessions till the end of his rule.

During this time the Chandelas captured Kalinjara and Chitrakuta from Krishna and Krishna sent a northern expedition under Ganga Marasimha, son of Buthuga. Marasimha defeated the Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Paramaras of Malava. The expedition must have taken place soon after 964 and we have two Rashtrakuta records in that territory, at Jura and Nilakanthi, commemorating Krishna's victories in the region, the former being in Kannada.

Krishna helped Badapa to secure the throne of Vengi as against Amma, and later he installed Dhanarnava on the Vengi throne. Thus Krishna's empire not only extended over parts of northern Tamilnadu, but even over Central India. The Paramaras, Gurjara-Pratiharas and the Kalachuris were his feudatories.

Kannara was the popular name of Krishna III and he had titles like Akalavarsha and Shrivallabha. Karhad and Deoli Plates say that he had married a Chedi princess. He had one son, who predeceased him and Indra IV was the son of this deceased son. Krishna had married his daughter to Marulaganga and Panchamukhi feels Bijjabbe, queen of this prince, named in the Hebbal Record may be Krishna's daughter. He had a scholarly minister, Narayana, the patron of the college at Salotgi. Narayana was a scholar and poet, known as Gajage or Gajankusha. Noted Kannada poet Ponna was patronised by Krishna III.

Krishna III was the last great and able monarch of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. He was a daring warrior, shrewd statesman, skilful military organiser and capable administrator. His only fault was that he antagonised the Kalachuris of Tripuri who were the strong allies and relations of his family. This proved fatal to the Rashtrakuta empire.

Krishna's last record is dated February 967, found at Kolagal. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Khottiga.

During the days of Khottiga, the Rashtrakuta power started declining. In 972 the Paramaras plundered Manyakheta.

Khottiga died during the sack. He was succeeded by his son, Kannara, who ruled for a few months (according to the newly discovered Harishi Record) in 972, followed by Khottiga's nephew Karka II, son of his brother Nirupama. Karka II also did not rule for long. We know from the Gadag Record of Chalukya Vikrama VI that the Rashtrakutas were overthrown in the cyclic year Srimukha corresponding to A.D. 973-74. Karka's last record is of July 973 found at Gundur. Marasimha II, the Ganga ruler tried to espouse the cause of his nephew, prince Indra IV, grandson of Krishna III, against the Chalukya power. But he did not succeed for long. Marasimha committed *sallekhana* in 975, followed by the performance of a similar act by Indra IV himself in 982. Thus Rashtrakuta dynasty ended and the rule of the Chalukyas of Kalyana began.

Administration: "King in ministry was the normal form of administration in the Rashtrakuta Empire" says Dr. Altekar and adds that their feudatories were also governed by the same principle in their respective areas. Kingship was hereditary, and the king nominated his successor by appointing him as crown prince. Suleiman says that the princes in India nominate their own successors. Krishna III was the *yuvaraja* in the days of Amoghavarsha III, and Krishna II in the days of Amoghavarsha I. Dhruva nominated his third son, Govinda, as *yuvaraja*, indicating the fact that "the crown passed normally to the eldest, and some times to the ablest". Records do not specify how many ministers the Rashtrakutas had. The most important among the ministers was the *mahasandhi-vigrahi*—chief minister for war and peace—or chief foreign minister, as was the case in the Chalukyan period too. The Salotgi Inscription describes one Narayana as holding such a position under Krishna III. Visottara held the same office in the days of Govinda IV. The Kalasa Record indicates that Visottara was a *dandanayaka* or commander also, and was entitled for honours like a flag, a conch, a fan, a white umbrella, a great drum, and other such insignia. We know from other sources that they were entitled to the honour of

five great musical instruments and were called *panchamahashabdas*. Dalla, the foreign minister of Dhruva, was entitled to such a privilege. The foreign minister "is usually entrusted with the work of drafting of the copper plate charters" says Dr. Altekar. Panchamukhi says that this officer was also mahakshapataladhikrita or keeper of records or *shasanas*.

The Rashtrakuta Records do not make any mention of pradhana or prime minister. But the Gujarat Rashtrakuta feudatory, Dantivarman had a mahamatya. Another feudatory of the Rashtrakutas called Kapardin had a purnamathya under him.. "Since earlier, contemporary and subsequent administrations are seen to be having the post of the premier", the Rashtrakutas also must have had the office under them, feels Dr. Altekar.

We do not come across any mention of other minister in Rashtrakutas Records. But we know from the Salotgi Record that ministers were to be learned and well-versed in *rajaneeeti* or political science. The ministers were frequently military leaders, as was the general practice in South India.

The empire was divided into mandalas or rashtras. There were also feudatory rulers called mahasamantas, and there were provinces or rashtras directly ruled by the emperor. Baroda Record of Dhruva II of Gujarat, a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas, gives us interesting details about the other administrative divisions and officials. We know that there was a rashtra, looked after by a rashtrapati, a vishaya or district under it, looked after by a vishayapati and a grama looked after by a gramakuta. The Sanjan Record of Amoghavarsha I says that his empire had 16 rajyas or provinces. The Nidagundi Record says that his trusted commander, Bankesha was ruling over Banavasi-12000, Belvola-300, Kundarge-70, Kunduru-500 and Puligere-300. As this comprises a considerable chunk of territory, he must have been looking after more than one mandala or province. Amoghavarsha had feudatory rulers like Phullashakti of the Shilahara family at Puri and he

was a mahasamanta. This prince was later succeeded by Kapardin II. The rashtrapatis who were imperial officers, were at times called mahasamantas.

The mandalas or rashtras were divided into vishayas or districts. Purigere-300 vishaya was ruled by one Kuppeyarasa in the days of Amoghavarsha I. Devannayya was administering Belvola-300 from Annigeri. Revakanimmadi, a daughter of Amoghavarsha, was looking after Edathore Vishaya.

Below the vishayas there were smaller units consisting of a group of villages which Dr. Altekar calls as bhuktis. But no record calls this unit with that name. Nadu was the name for such units. Nadu was perhaps looked after by a nadagouda or a nalagavunda. It must have been a hereditary office also. An inscription from Shikaripur informs us that the nadagavunda of Nagarakhande was one Kalivittarasa and he was succeeded by his wife, and she in turn by her daughter in the office. At times there were two such officials in every nadu. Anniga-100 had two such officials. Similarly Nilgundige-12 had also two such officials. Dr. Altekar feels that one of them was the hereditary official and the other imperial, appointed by the centre.

Gavunda (gramakuta) or the village headman is mentioned in many inscriptions. But some inscriptions mention one gramapathi in addition to gramakuta, as in the case of Salotgi, and Dr. Altekar feels that gramapathi must be the holder of the village as inam hereditarily. A similar feature existed in the village called Kadkeri. Every village had a village militia under the village headman. He was intimately connected with revenue administration.

Dr. Altekar observes that most of the records mention yuktas, ayuktas, niyuktas or upayuktas after gramakuta, and therefore they must be denoting village accountant and their assistants. They did clerical work.

There were village assemblies like those of mahajanas in *agraras*. The Kalasa Record says that the brahmana settle-

ment of Kadiyar had 200 mahajanas, and it also helps us know that 200 mahajanas were 200 house-holders of the village. Shirur in Dharwad District had 230 mahajanas, and Naregund 220.

But this assembly of mahajanas was not exclusive to only brahmin settlements. The Hattimattur Record of 917 speaks of 50 mahajana agriculturists, and five oilmen as their heads.

There must have been bigger councils over various administrative divisions. Vishaya mahattaras are referred to in the Kapadavanj Grant of Krishna II, and rashtra mahattaras in the Dhulia Plates of Karka, son of Dhruva. The Baroda Record of Dhruva II refers to mahattaras after all officials including yukta, and it perhaps refers to mahattaras in an ordinary village. Thus, there were councils at the rashtra, vishaya and village levels. Dr. Altekar says that these bodies were not innovations of the Rashtrakutas and that they existed even earlier.

The Rashtrakuta records speak of taxes like udranga, uparika and bhagakara, and all these terms stand for tax on land or land revenue. Land revenue was collected at least in three instalments, and collection in kind was also done. There was a tax called bhuthopatta prathyaya, and it was the general excise or octroi duty, according to Dr. Altekar. Goods like ghee, shoes, flowers, betel leaves etc., were subject to tax. Houses and ferries were also taxed.

"His horses and elephants are innumerable but his troops are mostly infantry", says Al Masudi. There was a standing army at Malkhed. Salotgi Record calls the capital as *sthira-bhutha kataka* that is, a permanent cantonment. The feudatories and governors also maintained large armies and they placed them at the empire's disposal. All officials served as commanders.

Inscriptions speak of coins like suvarna, whose weight is not known. There were dramma, both of silver and gold,

weighing 65 grains. Kalanju was another coin of 48 grains, and gadyanaka was double the size of a kalanju. Kasu (15 grains), manjati (2 1/2 grains), and akkam (1/2 of manjati) were other gold coins.

Cultural Contribution: The period of the Rashtrakuta's was one of great cultural activity. "The achievements of this epoch in the spheres of territorial expanse, political supremacy, military prowess and diplomacy, as well as attainments in the cultural domains of language, literature, religion and art, are shining and substantial, some of them endowed with imperishable merits transcending the barriers of time and space", says Dr. P. B. Desai.

"The glorious reign of the Rashtrakutas saw at once the flowering of literary activity both in Sanskrit and Kannada". Sanskrit was studied at the schools and colleges of Karnataka during Rashtrakuta period, and the country had numerous scholars, well-versed in Sanskrit literature. "A glance at the inscriptions of our period is sufficient to indicated the firm hold of the *kavya* or classical style on writing. All the merits and defects of that style are reflected in our epigraphs", says Dr. Altekar. Dr. Kielhorn has pointed out that these writers of inscriptions were influenced by Subandhu and Bana. Most of their Sanskrit records follow the popular Vaidarbhi style.

The most important Sanskrit poet of the period is Trivikrama, the author of *Nalachampu*, the first extant champu work in Sanskrit. Dr. Bhandarkar has pointed out that he is also the author of the Bagumra Plates of Indra III. Another Sanskrit writer of the period was Halayudha, who was patronised by Krishna III, and has written *Kavirahasya* a *dhathupatha* or list of verbs with meaning written in verse, and *Mritasanjivani*, a commentary on Pingala's *Chhandassutra*, a work on prosody. Under the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, there flourished some noted Sanskrit writers. Of them, mention must be made of Somadevasuri, the author of *Yashastilaka Champu* and *Naativakvamrita*. He was patronised by Arikesarin

of Vemulavada, who was also the patron of Pampa. The former work narrates the popular Jaina story of Yashodhara and Amrithamathi and the latter is a commentary on Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Three more works are ascribed to this author.

Many Advaita scholars like Padmapada and Sureshvara or Visvarupa lived in Karnataka and wrote many Sanskrit commentaries during the period under study. The most famous among them is *Balakrida* by Visvarupa, a commentary on *Yajnyavalkyasmṛiti*.

There were great Jaina theologians like Virasena and Jinasena who were patronised by Rashtrakutas themselves. They jointly wrote two great commentaries: *Dhavalā* and *Jayadhavalā*. They are named after Athishayadhavalā (Amoghavarsha). Jinasena began *Adipurana* which was later completed (*Uttarapurana*) by his disciple, Gunabhadra. Jinasena also wrote *Harivamsha* and *Parshvabhyudaya*. Jinasena was the spiritual perceptor of Amoghavarsha, and Gunabhadra was the teacher of crown prince Krishna II.

Pushpadanta, patronised by Bharata, a minister of Krishna III, wrote *Mahapurana*, and also two other works, *Jasaura Chariu* and *Nayakumara Chariu*, in Prakrit.

Mahaveera wrote *Ganithasarasangraha* (a work on mathematics) and Shakatayana *Amoghavritti* in the court of Amoghavarsha. The latter is a work on Sanskrit grammar, and it initiated a new school in Sanskrit grammar known as Shakatayana school.

'Prashnottara Ratnamala' ascribed to Amoghavarsha I is a religious work. There flourished great logicians like Manikyanandin, Mallavadin and Prabhachandra during the same period in the empire.

The Rashtrakuta times were the period when Kannada language came to its own and produced great literary figures like Pampa and Ponna. By this time the epic and classical ages of Sanskrit and Prakrit were practically over. But all that literary wealth was available to writers in Kannada during the

period. Almost all the major Kannada writers of the period were Jainas, and they were eager to spread the Jaina gospel through the popular Kannada language.

Inscriptions mention a number of Kannada poets that had composed the small verses in these records. Among them, mention must be made of Rudrabhatta of Banhatti, Ravinagabhatta who wrote a record of Govinda IV and Kavi Rajaraja of the Kalasa Record. A noted poet, spoken of by many later writers is Gajaga or Gajankusha. He appears to have written a work on erotics. Sitarama Jagirdar has indentified him with Narayana, a noted minister of Krishna III and the patron of the college at Salotgi.

The first extant work in Kannada, a composition of this period, is *Kavirajamarga*. A work on poetics, it is ascribed to Amoghavarsha I. It is a Kannada rendering of Sanskrit work by Dandin, *Kavyadarsha*. Scholars are of the view that it was composed by Shrivijaya, a poet in the court of Amoghavarsha and ascribed to his royal patron.

Another poet of note was Ponna, patronised by Krishna III, and he was honoured with the title, Kavichakravarti. He wrote four works: *Shantipurana*, *Bhuvanaika Ramabhyudaya*, *Jinaksharamale* and *Gatapratigata*. The fourth work is not extant, and it can be a Sanskrit work as Ponna calls himself "Ubhayakavichakravarti" indicating his capacity to compose in Sanskrit also. *Shantipurana* is the story of the 16th Teerthankara Shantinatha in *champu* style. Ponna is considered as one among the "three gems" (*ratnatrayas*) of Kannada literature, but he does not rise to the heights of either Ranna or Pampa, the other two grouped with him.

The great poet of the period and the greatest among the classical Kannada poets is Pampa. Pampa lived at Vemulavada in the court of Arikesari II, the Chalukya feudatory of the Rashtrakutas. He was both a poet and a warrior. He wrote two works, *Adipurana* and *Pampa Bharata* or *Vikramarjuna Vijaya*. *Adipurana* is a work in *champu* style. It narrates the

story of the first Teerthankara Rishabhadeva. In *Pampa Bharata* the hero is Arjuna, and he is likened to Arikesarin, Pampa's patron.

The temples and agraharas were centres of learning. Mathas imparted primary education to children. Agraharas were centers of higher learning. At Hebbal, (Dharwad Dist.) the Bhujjabeshwara Temple *matha* was endowed with 50 mattars of land for the feeding and teaching of the students. There were a number of agraharas, which were endowed with land and were great academic centres like those of Naragunda, Shirur and Kalasa. There were also special schools and colleges started by philonthropic citizens.

The agrahara at Kalasa was maintaining a Sanskrit college where grammar, the *puranas*, *nyaya* and literature were taught. Salotgi was such a big centre of learning that there were 27 boarding houses for students, as the college attracted students from far and near. Similar institutions existed at Belur in Bijapur District and Soratur in Dharwad District. The merchant guild at Dambal maintained one college.

Religion : Vedic religion continued to be the religion of the Rashtrakutas, as almost all their inscriptions begin with invocation to Vishnu or Shiva. They were Vaishnavas as suggested by their royal emblem Garuda, and a good majority of their records begin only with Vishnusthuti. Even Amoghavarsha I, who has been described as a Jaina by some scholars, was clearly Vaishnava in his learnings as his own Sanjan Record begins with a prayer of Veeranarayana, and he himself had assumed the title Veeranarayana. The record itself is a document testifying his devotion to Mahalakshmi, and his offering a finger of the left hand to that goddess to ward off some pestilence that had befallen the land. The famous Shiva temple at Ellora and many Brahmanical caves, testify to the flourishing condition of Vedic religion during the period.

Danthidurga is stated to have performed *hiranyagarbha mahadana*. No rulers of the Rashtrakuta family, like the

Chalukyas and the Kadambas, performed horse sacrifice. Perhaps religious rituals involving animal sacrifice had been discarded during the period, due to the impact of Buddhism and Jainism. But two records, the Sanjan Plates and the Cambay Record of Govinda IV do speak of brahmanas performing *rajasuya*, *vajapeya* and *agnishtoma*. The Hindu religion took the shape of *Smarta Puranic* religion during the period, says Dr. Altekar. The *Smriti* writers of the period had remodelled the old *puranas*. Vedic sacrifices were substituted by *pancha mahayajnyas* or various other rituals.

Buddhism had its few centres in Karnataka in places like Dambal, and Kampilya in Sholapur District. But it was not as widespread as Jainism, and was losing its hold in Karnataka. Rock-cut shrines in imitation of Buddhist *chaityas* came to be constructed on a large scale, indicating the decline of Buddhism.

But Jainism was extremely popular. It was receiving patronage at the hands of both the Rashtrakutas and the Gangas in the South. Dr. Altekar feels that at least 30% of the population in Karnataka during the period must be Jaina. One can even say that the cultural life of Karnataka in those days was dominated by the Jainas. A majority of the Sanskrit writers like Virasena, Jinasena, Gunabhadra, Somadeva Suri, Pushpadanta, Asaga and others, and the most important Kannada writers like Shrivijaya, Pampa and Ponna were Jainas. The important monuments of the period in Karnataka, those in the South, at Manne, Belagola, Kambadahalli etc., were Jaina. The Gomata at Belagola was a creation of this age only. In fact it is a period of cultural ascendancy of the Jainas in Karnataka history.

Islam was popular in the Konkana coast, and the Rashtrakutas even appointed Muslims as their officials in that area. Sanyana mandala in Konkana had an Arab (Tajjika) governor under Indra III. Al Masudi informs us that the Rashtrakutas highly respected Muslims.

"Wide and sympathetic toleration was the general characteristic of our age", says Dr. Altekar, and records give us

interesting evidences to this statement. At Salotgi there existed a temple for the joint worship of Shiva and Vishnu. At Kargudri there existed a temple for the worship of Shankara, Vishnu and Bhaskara. A good many royal records pay homage both to Shiva and Vishnu. Jainism received patronage at the hands of Vaisnava Rashtrakutas.

Art and Architecture: Not many Rashtrakuta monuments have come down to us when we consider the achievements of the earlier and later dynasties. But the most important of their temples is the monolithic Kailasa Temple at Ellora, constructed, by Krishna I. Hewn of of a single solid rock, about 100' high, the main body of the temple occupies a rectangle 150' x 100'. The impressive plinth is 25' high, and looks like a ground floor. The central space of the plinth has boldly carved elephants and lions. The temple proper has a *garbhagriha*, preceded by a hall and in front of the hall is a detached *nandimantapa*. The *garbhagriha* is surrounded by five shrines of *parivara devatas*, four in four corners, and one at the back side. The *vimana* (the *garbhagriha* and the tower on it together) is 95' high, and it is in three tiers. The walls of the temple have beautiful sculpturers like Ravana lifting Kailasa, Shiva and Parvati engaged in playing dice and other such lively motifs.

"The temple of Kailasa at Ellora is not only the most stupendous single work of art executed in India, but as an example of rock architecture it is unrivalled", says Percy Brown. Fergusson praises it in the following words: "Its beauty and singularity always excited the astonishment of travellers". He adds that it is better known than almost any other structure in India,

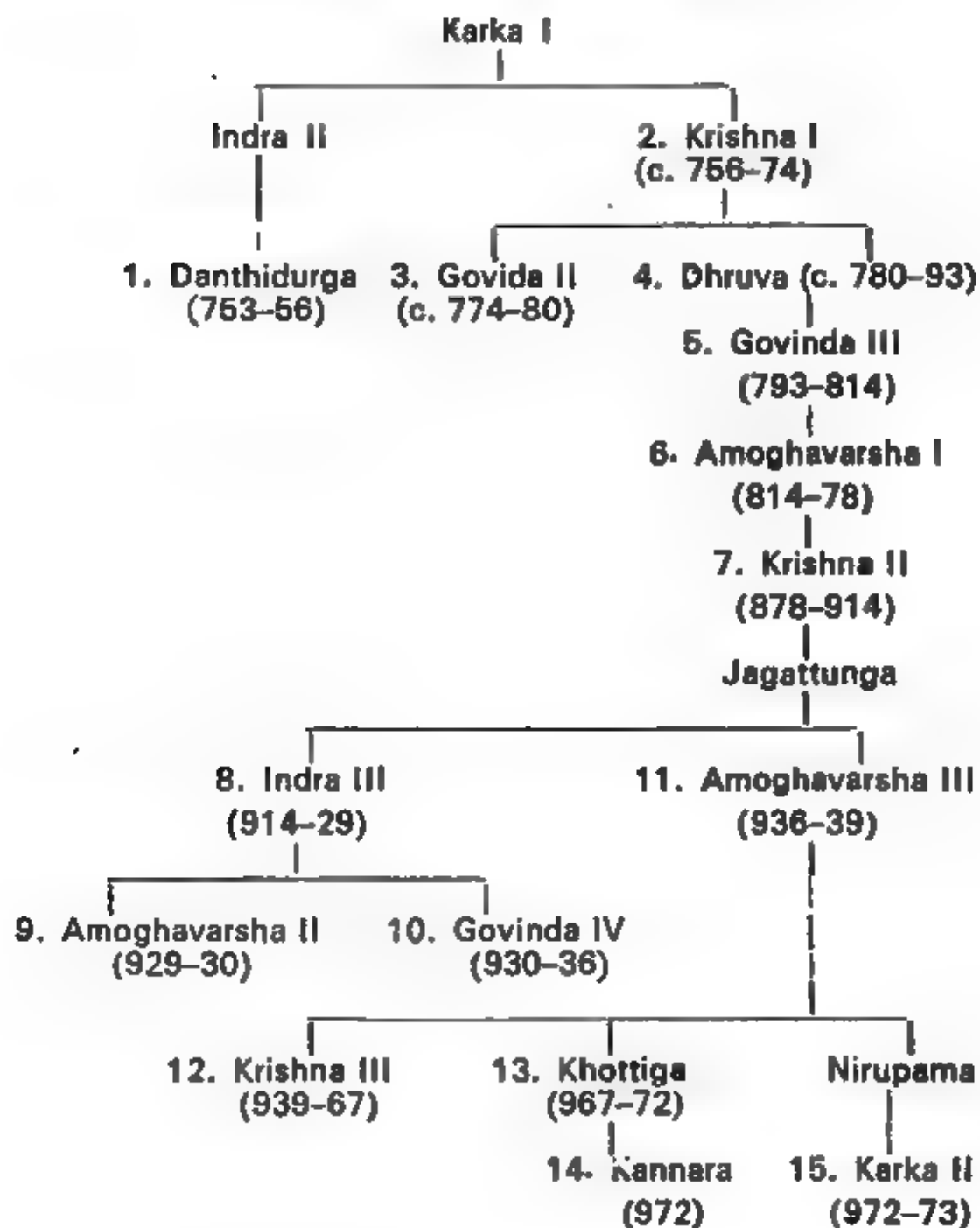
The rock-cut temple at Elephanta Island near Bombay is another important monument of the period. (Some scholars hold that it is a Kalachuri work). It is constructed in imitation of the Buddhist *chaityas*, and it is 130' long and 129' wide. It has three entrances, leading to a central rock-cut hall, and

at one end of this rectangular hall is a detached shrine with a *linga* in it. But opposite to the central entrance, on the back wall is the celebrated Maheshamurthy, engraved in bold relief. This three-faced bust of Shiva is more than 25' high, and has been termed as "one of the finest sculptures in all India". This sanctuary has two fine colossal figures of *dwarapalas*. On the walls of the hall are huge sculptures. The images of Ardhanareeshvara, Shiva and Parvati here, are among the finest. "The Elephanta temple is far superior to all others of its kind in the character and quality of its sculptures", says Brown.

The pillars in the structure are huge, 15' tall. They have a ribbed cushion at the capital, and the shaft is a fluted cylinder. These pillars, in the words of S. K. Saraswathi, "had reached their fullest development and beauty of form in these excavations". The Dhumar Lena and the Dashavatara Caves at Ellora and Jogeshvara near Bombay are other rock-cut works of this period. The Dashavatara Cave has very fine sculptures of the incarnations of Vishnu and Shiva *leela*.

This period has been termed as "Age of Imperial Kanauj" in Indian history. But the Rashtrakutas successfully challenged the rulers of Kanauj, levied tribute on them, and in fact it is proper to call this as "Age of Imperial Karnataka". Suleiman, in fact, had called the Rashtrakuta empire the biggest in India. Culturally it was an age of Jaina supremacy.

THE RASHTRAKUTA GENEALOGY



CHAPTER VI

THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANA AND THE KALACHURIS

The Rashtrakutas were overthrown by the Chalukyas who claim descent from the Chalukyas of Badami. Inscriptions from Kauthem, Yevvur, Nilagunda and Miraj inform us that Taila, who overthrew Rashtrakuta Karka II in 973, was the son of Vikramadithya IV, seventh in descent from Bhima, a brother of Vikramadithya II (734-45) of Badami. *Vikramankadeva-charitham*, a Sanskrit poem by Bilhana and *Gadayuddha*, a Kannada poem by Ranna, also give a similar genealogy, tracing the Badami origin of this line. Scholars like Dr. Fleet, Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Altekar do not agree with this view. They held that the Later Chalukyas did not mention anywhere that they belonged to the Manavyasa gotra and were Haritiputras like the Chalukyas of Badami. "The genealogy beyond Taila I is not above suspicion", says Dr. Altekar. Dr. Bhandarkar feels that "The titles like Tribhuvanamalla etc., which the Later Chalukyas assumed mark them off distinctly from princes of earlier dynasty who had none like them".

But Dr. B. R. Gopal states that certain objection raised by Dr. Bhandarkar in this regard do not hold good in view of the fact that the recently discovered inscription of the Chalukyas of Vemulavada whose descent from Badami line is certain, have titles like Yuddhamalla and Rajamalla ascribed to rulers of that line. He also adds that many member of the Vathapi line bore the title Satyashraya which is found to be the first name of one Kalyana prince.

Taila II: Taila II or Trailokyamalla, also known as Ahavamalla was the nephew of Yuvaraja II, the Chedi ruler of Tripuri in Central India, as his father, Vikrama IV had

married Bonthadevi, a Chedi princess. His own wife, Jakavve belonged to the Rashtrakuta family. He is stated to have defeated Kakkala or Karka II in the cyclic year Srimukha according to the Gadag Record of Vikrama VI and ruled for 24 years. This makes the date of his ancession 973 A.D.

Initially he was a subordinate of the Rashtrakutas and was administering Tardavadi-1000 from Taddevadi (Indi Taluk) as made known by two earlier records of 957 and 965. He took advantage of the situation arising after the sack of Malkhed by the Paramaras in 972. He defeated Karka II in 973 and captured Malkhed. But he had to face heavy odds till 977. Ganga Panchaladeva was his main opponent, espousing the cause of the Rashtrakutas. This Ganga prince called himself as Chalukyapanchanana or Lion to the Chalukyas. Taila killed him in a battle and called himself Panchalamardana Panchanana. Scholars have failed to identify this Ganga prince.

Taila also warred against Uttama Chola and defeated him. The Shilaharas of South Konkana were made to acknowledge his supremacy. He succeeded in defeating Chola Rajaraja I also and securing a large number of elephants as booty in c. 992. *Prabandha Chinthamani* by Merutunga, a scholar in the Paramara court, informs us that Taila was defeated by Paramara Munja 16 times, but finally Munja lost this own life in a war against the Chalukyas. Munja had invaded the Chalukya territory and was taken captive in c. 996. Taila imprisoned him and finally had him killed. Taila was helped by Seuna Bhillama II in this war.

Chaulukya Mularaja of Gujarat was also defeated by Taila and he assumed the title Gurjarabhayajvara. The Chola Records call his territory as Rattapadi 7½ lakhs. Satyashraya-kulatilaka and Nurmaditaila were his other titles. Malkhed appears to have continued as his capital.

He was succeeded by his son Satyashraya or Sattiga in 997, according to the Gadag Record, stated above. He was also known as Irvabedanga. Great Kannada poet Ranna was

patronised by him, and in his work *Gadayuddha*, Satyashraya has been likened to Bheema by the poet.

Records of both the Paramaras and the Chedis claim victory over Satyashraya. The Paramaras appear to have reconquered the territory that they had lost at the time of Munja. Satyashraya forced Shilahara Aparajitha of North Konkana to be his feudatory. Chola Rajaraja I conquered major parts of the Chalukya territory and reached Unakal near Hubli and Donur near Kudalasangama. He was driven back by Sattiga. He pursued the Chola army across the boundary of Karnataka and reached Andhra in 1004. His brother Dasavarman was killed during the Chola wars. Satyashraya had even defeated the crown prince Rajendra Chola according to the Hottur Record. In Gujarat, Chaulukya Mularaja had ousted Barapa, a Chalukyan chief ruling in Lata. Satyashraya led an expedition and reinstated Goggiraja, son of Barapa, in Lata after defeating the Chaulukyas. Akalavarsha, Akalankacharita and Sahasabhima were other titles of the prince.

He was succeeded by his nephew (Dasavarman's son) Vikramadithya V in 1008. He in turn was followed by his younger brother, Ayyana, who ruled for a short while in 1015. This is indicated by a literary work *Ayyanavamshacharita-kavyam*. He abdicated in favour of his younger brother Jayasimha II, a third son of Dasavarman, who is popularly known as Jagadekamalla and also Mallikamoda. His records range from 1015 to 1043. The wars against the Cholas continued during his period and in a severe battle against Rajendra I at Masangi (Maski in Raichur District), he met with reverses. But he succeeded in driving the Cholas back. But as Malkhed the capital was destroyed by the Cholas, he had his capital at Etagiri (modern Yadgir in Gulbarga District), and later at Pottalakere and Kollipakei, which are now in Andhra. The Chalukyas continued to interfere with the affairs of Vengi during the period and Jayasimha II helped Vijayadithya VII to ascend the Vengi throne as against Rajaraja, son-in-law of

Rajendra I. But Chola Rajendra I succeeded in driving Vijayaditya away and crown his own son-in-law.

Paramara Bhoja annexed Northern Konkana and Bhillama III of the Seuna family revolted against Jayasimha. But the Konkana tract could not be held by Bhoja for long. Bhillama was also suppressed. Jayasimha's sister, Akkadevi, an able lady was ruling over Kisukadu-70 and was married to Mayura Varman, the feudatory of Hanagal. Suggaladevi, Jayasimha's queen, was a disciple of the noted saint Devara Dasimayya. Jayasimha was a great patron of learning. Vadiraja, the noted Sanskrit poet, was patronised by him. Durgasimha, the noted Kannada author, was his foreign minister. Chavundaraya II also lived during his time.

The period of Jayasimha II was one of continuous wars as he had to fight against the Paramaras in the North and the Cholas in the South. He was succeeded by his son Someshvara I in 1043.

Someshvara I: Also known as Trailokyamalla and Ahavamalla, Someshvara I is one of the great monarchs of the family. He made Kalyana the permanent capital and developed it into a great city. The wars with the Cholas continued during his period. He invaded Vengi soon after his accession and had to face Chola Rajadhiraja near Amaravathi. The Chalukyas were defeated. This was followed by the Chola campaigns in the Chalukya territory, when Kalyana was plundered in c. 1045. This was followed by the Chalukyan invasion of the Chola territory when Kanchi came to be captured. Then followed another Chola expedition in Karnataka when Rajadhiraja was killed at Koppal in a major war (1054). But Someshvara too lost his younger brother Jayasimha. In commemoration of this victory, a temple was constructed at Annigeri (Dharwad Dist.) by the Chalukyas.

Chola Rajendra II, Rajadhiraja's successor, again invaded the Chalukyan territory in 1059 but he was defeated on the banks of the Tungabhadra. After the death of Rajaraja Narendra

of Vengi of 1061, there was a war of succession in that kingdom and Someshvara I supported the cause of Shaktivarman, son of Vijayadithya VII, as against Rajendra, son of Rajaraja Narendra and succeeded in crowning Shaktivarman at Vengi. But this success was short-lived. Chola Virarajendra who succeeded to the Chola throne in 1064 claims to have defeated Someshvara five times. Some of these victories were of the days of his predecessor, when he had participated in the campaigning. But he won a major victory against Someshvara I at Kudalasangama in 1064. This was followed by Chalukya prince Vikrama marching against the Chola capital, Gangaikondacholapuram, which he plundered in 1067-68. Though Someshvara met with many reverses at the hands of the Cholas, they "could not wrest from him any part of his kingdom", says Dr. Ganguli.

Besides the Cholas, Someshvara I fought against the Shilaharas of Northern Konkana and installed his own nominee on the throne. But he was overthrown after some years. He defeated the Chalukyas of Gujarat and the Paramaras of Dhara. The Paramara towns such as Mandapa and Ujjaini and their capital Dhara were plundered by him in 1051. Another effort was made by Paramara Bhoja to defeat Someshvara by aligning himself with the Chalukyas and the Kalachuris. But again he was defeated. Bhoja died during the war, of a disease. Chakrakota in Bastar ruled by the Nagas was also subdued by Someshvara I. The campaigns were led by his feudatory, Kakatiya Prola. Seuna Bhillama III who had revolted, was also subdued.

Someshvara was suffering from an incurable disease and he died by drowning himself in the Tungabhadra in 1058. He had eight principal queens, of whom Bachaladevi, the mother of his three sons, appears to be the chief one. Another queen, Hoysala Devi appears to be a Hoysala princess. Queen Mailaladevi was administering Banavasi-12000. Though faced by the Chola invasions and major reverses at their hands, Someshvara I succeeded in retaining his control over his vast

empire. In his wars against the rulers of Konkana, Gujarat, Central India and Kalinga, he had an upper hand. In the East, his domain extended upto Kurnool and Anantapur Districts.

Someshvara II, elder son of Someshvara I, succeeded him in 1068. He was administering Belavola-300 and Puligere-300 in the days of his father. He had to face a Chola invasion led by Virarajendra, who had captured Gutti 1069. But he was driven back. There followed a civil war for succession during his rule between him and his younger brother, Vikramadithya VI, who was ruling as governor over Govindavadi. Vikrama had married a daughter of Chola Virarajendra. After the death of the latter in 1070, Vikrama invaded the Chola country and installed his brother-in-law, Adhirajendra on the Chola throne. But Kulottunga of Vengi overthrew this prince. Vikrama slowly planned to overthrow his own brother. He secured the help of the Seunas, Kadambas of Hanagal and the Hoysalas. Someshvara II had the support of Chola Kulottunga and the Kadambas of Goa. By the close of 1076, Vikrama succeeded in overthrowing his brother and taking him captive.

Vikramadithya VI (1076-1127): The long rule of Vikramadithya VI has been considered as a glorious chapter in the history of Karnataka. Being a great warrior, a patron of scholars and a religious-minded ruler, Vikrama VI has the pride of place in Karnataka history. No single ruler of Karnataka prior to Vijayanagara times has left so many inscriptions as this monarch and of these records, a large majority are grants to scholars and centres of religion. He started a new era, known as Chalukya Vikrama Era, beginning with the cyclic year Nala in 1076, to commemorate his accession to the throne.

Vikrama invaded the territory of the Paramaras at least three times. The first invasion was in 1077, and the second in 1087 when he plundered Dhara, the Paramara capital, and erected a pillar of victory. A third expedition was conducted in 1097 perhaps with a view to instal the Paramara prince, Jagadeva, on the Paramara throne. Though this effort did not

succeed, Jagadeva sought shelter in the Chalukya kingdom and became one of the feudatories of Vikramadithya VI. But the Chalukyas remained undisturbed right upto the banks of the Narmada.

Vikrama's own younger brother, Jayasimha, who had sided with him in his war against Someshvara II, later revolted against him in 1080. The emperor defeated him and later pardoned him. Vikrama had to face the revolts of many feudatories of whom mention must be made of the Hoysalas. They conquered Nolambavadi and crossed the Tungabhadra; they came as far as Bellary and Kummata. Vikrama sent his able commander Achugi of the Sinda family (of Yerambarage) against the Hoysalas. Achugi succeeded in defeating Hoysala Vishnuvardhana in 1122 at Halasuru and again at Hosavidu, and till the death of Vikrama the Hoysalas remained loyal to the Chalukyas. Vikrama succeeded in conquering major parts of the Vengi kingdom from the Cholas in 1088. Kollipakei-7000, a province in Vengi kingdom, was under his control for long after this. He also led an expedition against the Cholas and captured Kanchi in 1085 and held it for some years. Chaulukya Karna of Gujarat and Chedi Jajalladeva of Ratnapur were also subdued by him. Vengi was under his control between 1093 and 1099, and though it was captured by the Cholas in 1099, he reconquered it in 1118 and retained it till 1124. The Kadambas of Goa, who had revolted against him, came to be subdued and Vikrama married his daughter Mailaladevi to Kadamba Jayakeshi II. Vikrama had married the daughter of Shilahara ruler of the Karhad branch. This queen was the celebrated artist, Chandaladevi. Vikrama sent an ambassador to the court of Vijayabanu of Ceylon.

Except for few wars, the long rule of Vikramadithya was peaceful. He was a religious-minded monarch who sought pleasure in the company of religious leaders and scholars. Bilhana from Kashmir was his court poet. Vijnaneshvara, the noted jurist, was patronised by him. Kirthivarman, the author

of *Govaidya* in Kannada claims to be Vikramadithya's younger brother.

Vikrama's chief queen, Chandala, was well versed in dance, music and other fine arts. She was called Abhinava Sarasvathi. Inscriptions speak of many of his queens who also administered some territory or the other. Queen Kethaladevi looked after Siraguppa region, and Savaladevi looked after the *agrahara* at Naregal. His own commander Mahadeva, built the celebrated Mahadeva temple at Itagi. Vikrama had titles like Permadideva and Tribhuvanamalla. Scholars have considered his rule as a bright period in Karnataka history. Bilhana describes it as Ramarajya. "A king like Vikramarka is neither to be seen nor heard of", says Vijnaneshvara. He was the greatest among the Later Chalukyan rulers, and a great king who ruled over South India.

He was succeeded by his son Someshvara III, born of Chandaladevi, in 1127. He is also known as Tribhuvanamalla and Bhulokamalla. Hoysala Vishnuvardhana raised his head again during the period, but was suppressed once again. But by the close of Someshvara's reign, the Hoysalas had become powerful and conquered Uchchangi in 1136. Though Someshvara lost Vengi in 1130, he could retain major parts of his territory under his control.

Someshvara III was a versatile scholar. He compiled an encyclopaedia in Sanskrit known as *Manasollasa* or *Abhilashithartha Chinthamani*. He was called Sarvajnyabhupa (omniscient king) for his encyclopaedic knowledge. He was followed on the throne by his son Jagadekamalla II in 1139. Though Jagadekamalla had to face the revolt of the Hoysalas and the Kadambas, he could maintain peace in his vast empire. But the Telugu-speaking territories in his empire were lost by him. He defeated Paramara Jayavarman in 1143 and dethroned him.

Jagadekamalla II was succeeded by his younger brother, Taila III or Trailokyamalla in 1149. He had to war against Kakatiya Prola, his feudatory who defeated him and took him

captive. Though released, Taila III lost his prestige and the empire shrank in size due to revolts of many feudatories. Not only the Kakatiyas, but the Seunas in the North and the Hoysalas in the South also encroached upon the empire. In 1157, one of his feudatories and a relation, Bijjala of the Kalachuri family conquered Kalyana. Taila III had to station himself at Annigeri. Later in c. 1162, he died. Perhaps Bijjala had him killed, as indicated by the Harasur Record of Bijjala's son. Thus there followed the Kalachuri interregnum which began from 1162 and continued at least till 1183, when Taila's son Someshvara IV staged a come-back and captured Kalyana. But the Chalukya successes were short-lived, and within a few years Kalyana was captured by the Seunas together with the northern parts of the empire. The Kakatiyas and the Hoysalas also secured the rest of their territories. By 1189 Someshvara IV lost his empire and he had to seek shelter in the territory of his Kadamba feudatory of Gao. He lived till 1225.

THE KALACHURIS

The Kalachuris (also Kālachuris) who ruled in Karnataka originally belonged to Central India. They claim descent from Yadu and Sahasrajit (Kartiveerya) and called themselves as belonging to the Haihaya (Chedi) family. They were ruling from Kalanjara, and their several branches were found in Malava, Gujarat, Konkana and Maharashtra. The Kalachuris of Tripuri (Tewar near Jabbalpur) were powerful and related to the Early Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas of Karnataka.

The Kalachuris of Karnataka called themselves as "Kalanjara-puravardhisvaras", indicating their Central Indian origin. Their emblem was *suvarnavrishabha*, the golden bull, and the Kalachuris of Gorakhpur and Tripuri too had Nandi as the their insignia. This proves beyond doubt that the Karnataka Kalachuris were only a branch of those from Central India.

The first important member of this family that ruled in Karnataka was Uchitha, who was a subordinate governor under

the Later Chalukyas, and from this family came rulers like Bijjala I, Karna and Jogama. They were ruling over Tarikadunadu with Mangalavada (modern Mangalavede in Sholapur Dist.) as their capital. Jogamma had married his daughter Savaladevi to Vikrama VI, his overlord. His successor Permadi had married a daughter of Vikrama VI, Nagaladevi, and Bijjala II was the son of this princess.

Bijjala II had succeeded to the position of Mahamandaleshwara in the days of Vikrama VI, before 1127, and even in the days of his father Permadi whose last date is 1129, as pointed out by Dr. P. B. Desai. He was ruling over Karhada-4000, as seen in a record of 1142, and Tardavadi-1000 also, as testified by a 1147 record. He appears to have assumed independence in 1157, after the defeat of Taila III at the hands of the Kakatiyas, because the Chikkalagi Record of 1157 does not mention Taila III as Bijjala's overlord, but calls Bijjala as "Mahabhujabala Chakravarti". But he had already started reckoning a new era, named after himself from 1153, when he appears to have successfully revolted. Anyhow, Bijjala's career as an emperor appears to have begun from 1162, when the Huli Record calls him as Maharajadhiraja and Parameshvara. A record from Harihara of the same year describes his achievements in following words: "Just as Agasthya sprang from a jar of water sucked the ocean, King Bijjala born in the family of feudatory chiefs subjugated the whole earth by the dint of his prowess". It is likely that he killed Taila III together with many other members of the Chalukya family as indicated by the Harasur and Kalagi Records of his son, Sovideva.

Though Bijjala was ruling initially from Mangalavada later he shifted his capital to Kalyana. Bijjala was a powerful warrior, and as an emperor, he subdued Hoysala Narasimha I and Vijaya Pandya of Uchchangi, who were unruly, and even defeated the Seunas, Chola Rajaraja III, Rajendra Choda II of Andhra, Ganga Raghava of Kalinga and Chaulukya Kumarapala.

He was a Shaiva, and had given *jayapatra* to Virashaiva saint Ekantada Ramayya over the Jainas, as testified by an

inscription at Abalur. He had under him Basaveshvara, the noted Virashiva saint, as his chief treasurer.

But Bijjala's rule as an emperor was only short-lived. He abdicated in favour of his second son, Sovideva (Somideva) in 1167, as his first son Vajradeva had predeceased Bijjala.

Dr. Desai has pointed out that Bijjala had six sons, viz., Vajradeva, Sovideva, Mallikarjuna, Sankama, Ahavamalla and Singhana and two daughters. Bijjala was killed in 1168. There was a civil war of succession, and Sovideva's power was challenged by his uncle Mailugi (Bijjala's brother), and his nephew Karna or Kalideva, a grandson of Bijjala, as pointed out by Govinda Pai. This Kalideva is identified as the son of Bijjala's first son Vajradeva by Dr. Desai. Sovideva succeeded in resisting the revolts of these rival claimants and he ruled till 1176, though the empire was weakened as a result of all such civil wars.

He was succeeded by his younger brother Mallugi or Mallikarjuna in 1176, and this prince's power was challenged by his another brother, Sankama. But no records of Mallugi are available after 1176, and Sankama appears to have had an upper hand in the conflict, and he ruled till 1180. Sankama was killed by the Chalukya general, Narasimha (of Someshvara IV).

Sankama was succeeded by his brother Ahavamalla (1180-83) and by Singhana (1183-84), and Dr. Desai points out that the last named is mentioned as a subordinate of Chalukya Someshvara IV in the Minajigi Record of 1184. Thus the rule of the Kalachuris ended in 1183, though it had begun only in 1162.

Chalukya Administration: Kingship was hereditary and whenever king had no son, his brother succeeded him. Vikrama V was followed by his brother Jayasimha II. Jagadekamalla II was followed by Taila III. In both the cases, succession continued in the younger brother's line itself. King was assisted by a number of ministers. An inscription of

Vikramadithya VI informs us that he made a grant in the presence of *mantri* (minister), *purohita* (chief priest), *dauva-lka* (door-keeper), *yuvaraja*, *rashtrakuta* and *kutumbi*. This indicates that all these were members of the ministerial council. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal points out that "Like other imperial dynasties the Chalukyas allowed the combination of different offices in the same hand". Many members of the ministerial council were army commanders also. In addition to the above stated members of the council, other members like *maha-pradhana*, *sandhivigrahika* and *dharmadhikari* or chief justice are also mentioned in other records. Scholars have pointed out that there was a new tendency towards specialisation of offices, as has been illustrated by such titles as *tadeyadandanayaka* or general in charge of the reserve army. Among the *sandhivigrahikas* also there were those who were specially assigned the affairs of various regions, such as Kannada *sandhivigrahi* or Hiritala *sandhivigrahi*.

The empire was divided into a number of provinces. Hereditary feudatories like the Hoysalas, Kakatiyas, Seunas, Shilaharas, Kalachuris, Kadambas, Rattas, Guttas, Sindas and other families were allowed to rule over their territories and pay tribute to the emperor in cash and contribute fighting men. The Chalukyan administration was not highly centralised and it allowed a lot of freedom and autonomy to its feudatories, which proved fatal to the empire.

The empire was divided into major provinces like Ganga-vadi-96000, Banavasi-12000, Nolambavadi-32000 and other units. These provinces were further divided into small units such as Belvola-300, Payve-500 and so on. These units were subdivided into smaller units: Belvola-300 had smaller units like Mulagunda-12 or Kolanur-30 or Navalagunda-30. The village Ittaga was in Guruge-70, a part of Advani-500 in Sindavadi-1000. Each unit got its numerical designation from the number of villages in it, if it was a small unit, like Mulagunda-12 or Kolanur-30. Bigger units like Banavasi-12000 only indicated that the province had 12 smaller units of

1000 villages each, though the smaller unit did not always have 1000 villages in it. Provinces were called *mandalas* (or *deshas*, and also *rashtras*) such as Banavasi-12000 or Halasige-12000. Below the *mandala* was the *nadu*. A *nadu* was divided into *kampanas* which consisted of a group of villages. The village (or *bada*) Nigunde (Nigadi) was within the Mugunda-30 Kampana, a part of Marajavadi Nadu within the Konkana Mandala. But, "there is a good deal of looseness about the use of terms to denote territorial divisions" says Dr. G. S. Dikshit.

The *mandalas* were governed by princes of the imperial family, or by feudatories or senior officials. They were called Mahamandaleshvaras. At times two or three or more provinces were under the rule of one such official. Bammanayya administered Banavasi-12000 in the days of Someshvara III. Later he was transferred to Halasige-12000 and other regions. Imperial provinces or territories directly under the emperor were transferable from one official to the other. Palasige-12000 and Panugal-500 were under Bommarasa in 1145, and were later transferred to Keshiraja in 1147. This Keshiraja was later found at Banavasi-12000, and he is identified with Kaushika who had married Akkamahadevi. Women also came to be appointed as governors. Akkadevi, a sister of Jayasimha II, administered Kisukadu-70 and Masavadi-140. She later became joint ruler with her son, Kadamba Toyimadeva over Panugal-500 and Banavasi-12000. This able lady led armies and won victories. Mailaladevi, daughter of Vikrama VI, ruled over Kundur-500. Queens of Vikrama VI administered various big and small units.

The *nadus* had as their head *nadagauvndas* or *nadavergades*. These small units also had at times certain small hereditary feudatories as in the case of Mulagundanadu, ruled by the Sindas.

The village assemblies that existed earlier continued in the Chalukyan period. The *agraharas* continued to have the

assembly of *mahajanas*. For example, Manigavalli (Managoli) *agrahara* had an assembly of 500 *mahajanas*. In ordinary towns and villages also there were assemblies of leading citizens. In towns and cities there were the assemblies of the merchants called *mahanadus*. Smaller villages had assemblies called *ayvattokkalu* or *aravattokkalu* which consisted of the heads of fifty or sixty leading families respectively, of the villages. Every village had a *gavunda* or headman and some big villages and towns had two or more such *gavundas*.

Land revenue was the chief source of income. The various levies and taxes such as excise duty, levy on goods in transit, sales tax etc., which were collected earlier continued.

There were gold coins called 'dramma' weighing 65 grains, and silver coins of the same name. Gadyanaka was a bigger gold coin weighing 96 grains. Kalanju weighing 48 grains, kasu of 15 grains, manjadi of $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains and akkam, half in weight of the manjadi, were other gold coins. There was also a coin called pana, one-tenth of a gadyanaka. Lokkigundi (Lakkundi) and Sundi (Sudi) both in Dharwad District and Savimale (Sondur) had mints.

The Kalachuris continued the administrative system of the Chalukyas.

Cultural conditions : Orthodox Hindu religion continued to flourish during the days of the Chalukyas. Shaivism and Vaishnavism were popularly practised. A number of Shiva temples came to be constructed during the period. Shri-vaishnavism became popular in the South especially due to the visit of Ramanuja to the Hoysala kingdom. Buddhism had almost declined, though there continued a few centres of this religion like Dambal. One of the remarkable developments of this period was the rise of Virashaivism. Basaveshvara propagated it with great enthusiasm and vigour. He was the chief treasurer under Kalachuri Bijjala. Kalamukha Shaivas too were active and Balliganve (Shimoga Dist) was their great centre. Jainism, though popular, was slowly losing its hold. Great

Jaina scholars and writers of this religion continued to write works in Kannada and Sanskrit. But the age of cultural supremacy of the Jainas (witnessed in the Rashtrakuta-Ganga period) came to an end. Jainism could not resist the onslaughts of Shrivaishnavism in South Karnataka and Virashaivism in the North. The indigenous cults like worship of Mari, Masani, Ekkalathi and other deities continued. The *vachana* literature speaks of this.

Society: Though the social hierarchy represented by castes came to be challenged by the Virashaivas, its enforcement by Bijjala by beheading the two Virashaivas (Haralayya and Madhuvayya) for holding an inter-caste marriage, clearly indicates its dominance. Women enjoyed lot of freedom. Members of royal and noble families were well educated and even appointed as administrators. Chalukya princess Akkadevi Hoysala queen Umadevi even led armies and fought wars. Chalukya Chandaladevi, Kalachuri Savaladevi (wife of Sovideva) and Hoysala Shanthaladevi were not only well versed in dance and music, but even rendered public recitals. We come across over 30 female composers of *vachanas* as the first poetesses in Kannada. *Sathi* became more and more popular from the close the tenth century. But the widowed woman was not encouraged to burn herself. This can be known from the example of Attimabbe, the wife of a Chalukya general, who survived him as she had to take care of her young son (though the other wife of the general committed *sathi*). The Belathur record (1057) speaks one Dekabbe committing *sathi* despite her parents and relations praying her not to resort to it. Thus it is clear that the practice was voluntary.

The guilds of various professions functioned well. We hear the guild of *Kurubas* of Navalur constructing a school building in co-operation with *brahmins* of Poorvahalli (Hubli).

Self-immolation of various kinds was popular. The Jainas practised *sallekhana* (a kind of starving oneself to death). People jumped on spikes (this rite is known as *shoolabrahma*)

or entered fire on days of eclipse to attain salvation. Bodyguards and servants like *lenka*, *valevali* and *garuda* were known to have died with their masters. The last named was popular in the Hoysala court.

Agraharas increased in number. They were great centres of learning. Bagevadi and Manigavalli (Mangoli) in Bijapur District, Nargund and Hottur in Dharwad District and Balliganve in Shimoga were few such centres. Balliganve had several *brahmapuris* or streets of scholarly *brahmins*. Kodimatha at Balliganve, run by the Kalamukhas, was a great centre of learning. Nagayi in Gulbarga District and Kadalevad in Bijapur District were some of the *ghatikasthanas* of this period where scholars were tested. Nagayi had a library (*Saraswathi-bhandara*). Many records of this period speak of the arrangements made for primary education (*balashikshe*). At Narasimhapura *agrahara* in Hassan District, one teacher was granted 12 gadyanas a year to teach and feed some boys. *Manasollasa* contains good deal of information on social conditions like food habits (including non-vegetarian one), dress, jewellery and games.

Agriculture was the main vocation of the masses. Irrigational facilities were known. Villages had a piece of land called *bittuvatta* and one who enjoyed it was to take care of the tank or canal in the village. Ranna speaks of *ghatiyantra* or the Persian wheel. *Vachanasahithya* helps us know of a variety of professions. Weaving, oil industry and trade were major vocations. Wines and horses were imported from abroad and textiles and spices were main exports.

Literature : The period of the Chalukyas was one of substantial literary activity, both in Sanskrit and Kannada. Great writers in Sanskrit like Bilhana, Vadiraja and Vijnaneshvara were patronised by the Chalukyas. Vadiraja, the great Jaina scholar, was patronised by Jayasimha II. He wrote *Yashodharecharitam* and *Parshvanathacharitam* two epics and 'Nvayavinishchayatika'. an exhaustive commentary on

Akalanka's 'Nyayavinishchaya'. He also wrote a work on logic *Pramanathraya*.

Bilhana, a poet from Kashmir, came to be patronised by Vikramadithya VI and he wrote *Vikramankadeva Charitham*, a long poem having Vikrama as its hero. This *mahakavya* is "replete with classical imagery and brimming with poetic fancies". Another scholar patronised by Vikrama was Vijnaneshvara who composed *Mitakshara*, a commentary on *Yajnyavalkyasmriti*. It is one book on the Hindu law followed all over India except in Bengal. It occupies a unique place in *Dharmashastra* literature. Another great scholar of the period is Emperor Someshvara III who compiled an encyclopaedia in Sanskrit, *Manasollasa* or *Abhilashitartha Chinthamani*. This work has been considered as the unique contribution of Karnataka to the field of science, arts and scholarship. It deals with 100 topics such as polity, food, architecture, dress, cosmetics, gems, music, medicine and so on. Another Chalukyan Emperor, Jagadekamalla II wrote *Sangithachudamani*, a work on music. Parshvadeva, patronised by Someshvara III, wrote *Sangithasamayasa*. Matisagara and Dayapala were the other two Sanskrit authors of the period. Dayapala wrote *Rupasiddhi* a work on Sanskrit grammar of the Shakatayana school.

Kannada literature highly flourished during the period. Ranna, one of the great poets in Kannada, was patronised by Satyashraya. *Gadayudha* or *Sahasabhimavijaya* is his great work which is comparable to Pampa's *Bharatha*. He also wrote a Jaina work, *Ajitapurana*. Chavundaraya II, an official of the Chalukyas, wrote *Lokopakara* a compendium of useful knowledge. One of his contemporaries was Chandraraja who composed *Madanatilaka* a work on *Kamashastra*. Sridharacharya wrote *Jatakatilaka* a work on astrology and *Chandraprabhacharite* under the patronage of Someshwara I. *Kirtivarma*n, a younger brother of Vikrama VI, wrote *Govardya* on veterinary science. Durgasimha, a *sandhivigrahi* under Jayasimha II

wrote *Panchatantra* a translation of Vasubhagabhatta's Sanskrit *Panchatantra*. Shantiraja, author of *Sukumaracharita*, Nayasena of *Dharmamritha* and the noted grammarian, Nagavarma II, also lived during the period. The last named was a teacher of military arts (*katakopadhyaya*) under Jagadekamalla and he has left three works viz., *Kavyavalokana*, *Bhashabhushana* and *Abhidana Vastukosha*. Brahmashiva was another poet of the period, who wrote *Samayapareekshe*.

A major development of the period in Kannada literature is the growth of *Vachanasahitya*, a great contribution of the Virashaivas. The *vachanas* or sayings of the Virashaiva *Sharanas* or saints were pithy pieces in poetic prose. Jedara Dasimayya, Basaveshvara, Akkamahadevi, Allamaprabhu and Madivala Machayya were some of the important poets of this group.

Fine Arts : Fine arts like dance and music also flourished during the period. All temples were provided with orchestras and dancing girls. The Kalamukhas popularised this practice. Even queens rendered public performances. Chapters in *Manasollasa* reveal in detail the attainments in the field of dance and music, both vocal and instrumental. A number of musical instruments are mentioned in the work. *Sangitha Chudamani*, *Sangitha Samayasara* and *Sangitha Ratnakara* (of Sarngadeva in the Seuna court) are creations of this period. A record of 1074 speaks of one Mokari Barmayya, who is described as "Brahma of all arts", as he was well versed in singing, in playing all instruments, in various kinds of dance and so on. Bahurupi Chaudayya, a *vachanakara* was known for his histrionic talent. Mugada in Dharwad District had a theatre.

Art and Architecture : The Chalukyas have left behind some of the finest monuments of artistic merit. Their creations have the pride of place in Indian art tradition. Hoysala monuments have also been classed with Chalukya constructions. No doubt Hoysala Art is an offshoot of Chalukyan Art, but the former has its own specialities.

The Chalukyan temples have the following special features :

- 1) Their lay-out is on the principle of right lines and rectangles, and they are rectangular, though with certain exceptions.
- 2) *Garbhagriha* or cella has no *pradakshinapatha* in a majority of cases.
- 3) Entrance to the temple is generally from the sides, and not from the front.
- 4) Doorway or entrance is not only highly ornamented, but has an architectural framework, consisting of pilasters, moulded lintel and a cornice atop. The cella is provided with light through the pierced windows on both sides of the doorway. In addition, the style has certain features in common with the Hoysala style, viz.,
- 5) Its pillars are lathe-turned ;
- 6) Its *mantapa* has pierced windows, which are there in all the Early Chalukyan temples also.

No doubt there are certain exceptions to the above rules. Though a majority of their temples are rectangular, the Parameshwara Temple of Konnur near Nargund, the Brahmadeva Temple at Savadi and the Doddabasaveshvara Temple have star-shaped, *garbhagrihas*. Perhaps the Hoysalas borrowed this design from the temples of Konnur and Savadi which are of an earlier date than those of Hoysalas, as pointed out by Dr. A. Sundara. Similarly the Sarasvati Temple at Gadag has a *pradakshinapatha* round the cella which is not common to the Chalukyan temples.

The earlier examples of this style are the temples of Konnur and Savadi, of Mallikarjuna of Sudi and of Kallesvara and Navalunga of Kukanur.

Every Chalukyan temple has a *garbhagriha* or cella, a *shukanasa* (vestibule or antechamber), a *mahamantapa* or *navaranga* and two open *mantapas* on either side of the *mahamantapa* where there are main entrances. On the opposite side of *garbhagriha*, at the other end of *navaranga* there is an open *Nandimantapa*, fully surrounded by a parapet. At places, there is a supplementary cella.

The other faces of the wall are fully decorated. "As to the surface treatment of the Chalukyan style, this is exceptionally

well rendered", says Percy Brown. The early Chalukyan builders spaced out the surface of the wall by means of pilasters. The later craftsmen developed this idea into much more elaborate and finished conception. In addition to the slender pilasters dividing the wall, half pilasters, were added in between. On these half pilasters, small *shikharas* were engraved in relief, and they have niches in between them, below the *shikhara*. The *shikhara* here is wrought in a "most artistic refrain". Above this *shikhara* is interposed a trophy of foliated curves.

The column in *mahamantapa* are lathe-turned, a feature common to both the Chalukyan and Hoysala monuments. But in the Chalukyan columns, below the actual capital, the principal moulding is very considerably projected with a pronounced knife-edge section.

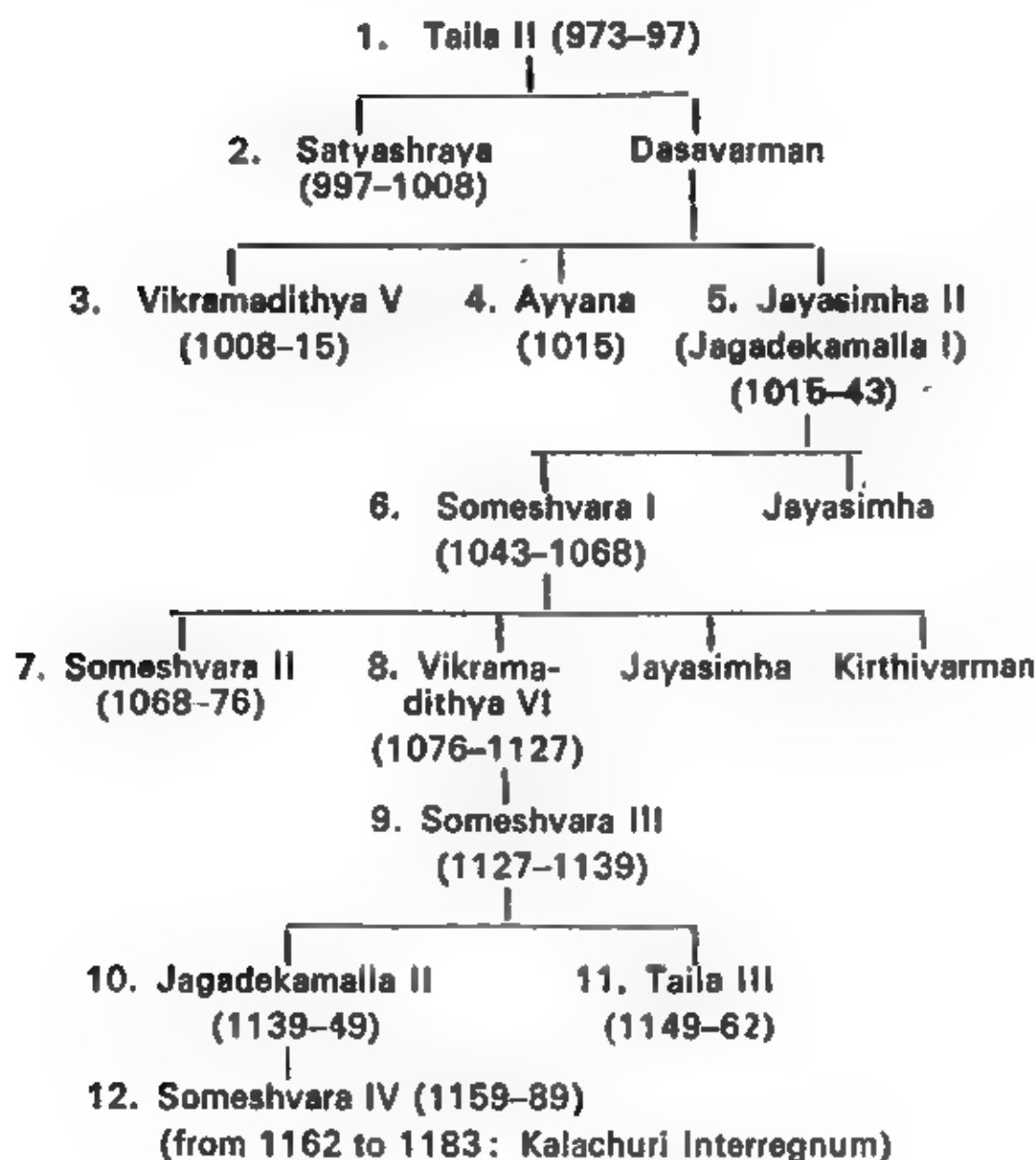
The monuments of Kōnnur, Sudi, Savadi and Kukanur provide the transition from the Early to Later Chalukyan styles, though they belong to the Later Chalukyan period. These earlier temples are built with coarse sand-stone, but all later temples of the Chalukyas, like those of the Hoysalas, are built with chloritic schist or the close-grained slate stone. Clear *vesara* or Chalukyan features are also visible in the *gopuras* of the Navalinga Temple of Kōnnur, which, though resemble the Pattadakal *shikaras*, are in marked distinction to them. Their stepped towers are made to look like curvilinear towers by the decorative motifs that are engraved on each step. The Jaina Temple at Lakkundi marks a further step of development as its outer walls have a greater ornamental effect. The Chauda-danapura Temple in Haveri Taluk has additional Chalukyan feature, viz, a wide projecting eave or *chhajja*, which is double-curved. This became common in all later temples of the Chalukyas and even those of Vijayanagara. The tower of this Temple of Mukteshwara is a complete, perfect form of the Chalukyan style. The stories of the earlier Dravidian tower have their prominence reduced and their outlines obscured by the wealth of plastic ornamentation.

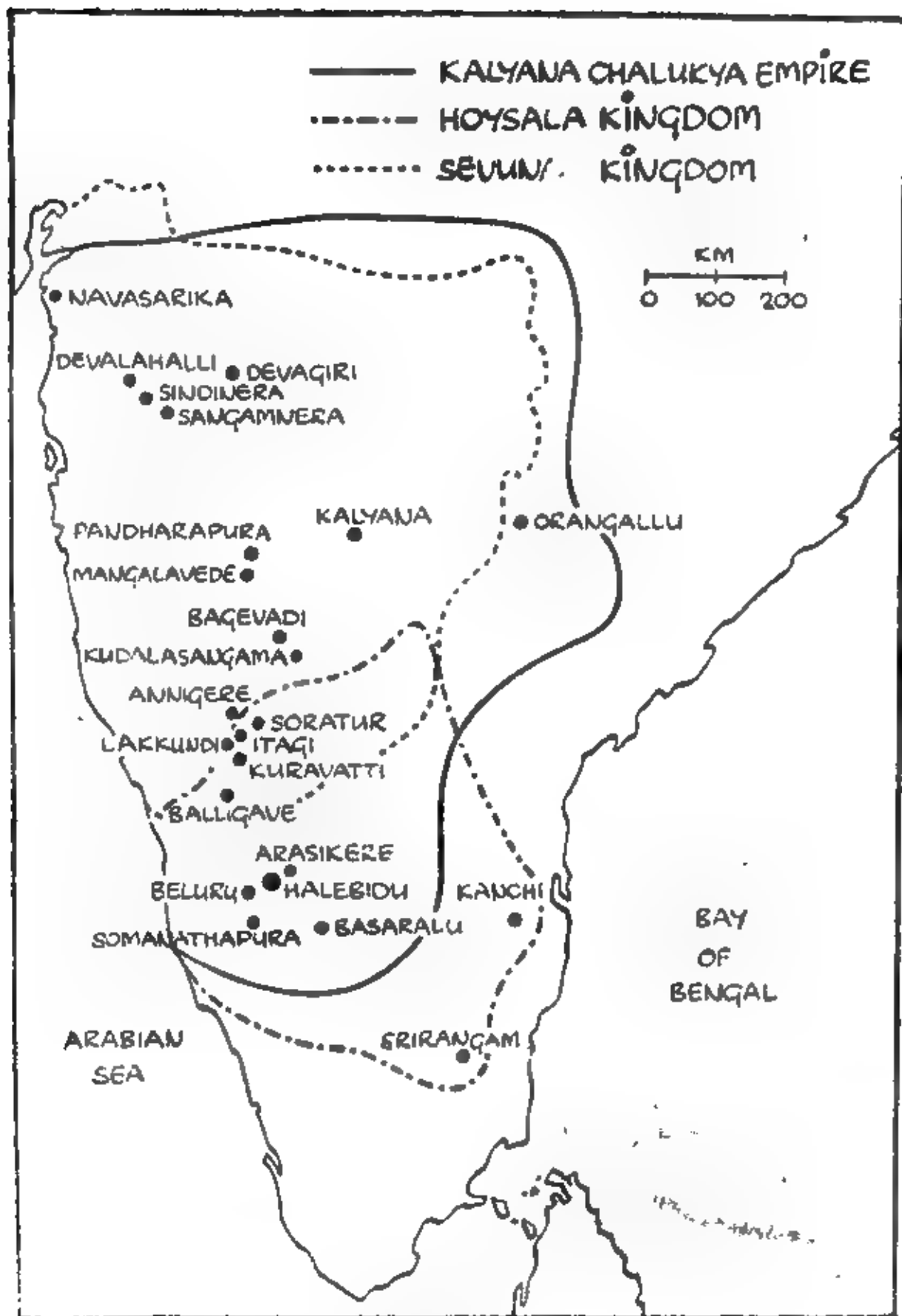
The temples of Kashivisveshvara of Lakkundi, Mahadeva of Itagi and Mallikarjuna of Kuruvatti are the best and the finest examples of this style. The Lakkundi temple is a double shrine with fine and rich *gopuras*. Its doorway is compared to lacework. The Kuruvatti temple has a wonderful *torana* over the lintel of the cella and delicately carved bracket figures. Dr. Cousens has called the Itagi temple as "the finest in Kannada country after Halebidu". An inscription in the Temple calls it rightly as the "the emperor among temples".

The temples of the Chalukyas are also found at Gadag, Haveri, Hanagal, Bankapura, Harihara and other places. In all there are 100 monuments of the period, scattered all over the Deccan. Many more have vanished.

The bracket figures of the Chalukyan temples especially found at Kuruvatti and Itagi are wonderful creations. The image of Sarasvati at the Temple of Gadag is a unique piece of art. The female scribe at Jalasangvi must be specially mentioned. The Chalukyas and the Hoysalas used *makara-torana motif* profusely to decorate their human figures. The Chalukyan Art took further strides in the days of the Hoysalas. The builders of Belur temple were from Balliganve, a centre of Chalukyan art.

THE CHALUKYA GENEALOGY





Map No. 2

CHAPTER VII

THE HOYSALAS AND THE SEUNAS

After the fall of the Gangas, the Hoysalas took their place in southern Karnataka, and started their rule from the 11th century as subordinates of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and later became a sovereign dynasty, having extended their power over parts of Tamilnadu also. They shared the fortunes of the Chalukyas of Kalyana in Karnataka with the Seunas of Devagiri. Inscriptions are the chief source of information on the dynasty. But literary works like *Jatakatilaka* in Kannada and *Gadyakarnamrita* in Sanskrit also reveal to us information on the dynasty.

Origin: The Hoysalas claim to belong to the Yadava family and state to have come from Dwaraka in Gujarat. A record of Ereyanga dated 1078 states that Hoysala was the lord of Dvaravathipura. A later record (1090) says that he was the sun of the Yadava sky. Still later records inform us that in the family were born Brahma, Atri, Chandra, Puroorava and later on Yadava; and from him were born the Yadavas. "Among such kings at a certain time arose Sala with rays of glory like the moon". One of the records says that this Yadava *Vamsa* came to be named as Poysala *Vamsa* from the days of Sala. "In these accounts it can be found that the poet has taken no pains to trace the connection of Sala with the Yadava kings of the north. This points to the fact that there was not even tradition to back such poetic fancies", says Prof. William Coelho.

It can be noted here that records of early rulers of the family, Nripakama and Vinayadithya make no mention of their genealogy, and it is only in the days of Ereyanga an attempt was made for the first time to connect the family with the Yadavas. All royal families of the South in the 10th & 11th

centuries divided *puranic* genealogies, as in the case of the Yadavas, Pallavas, Kadambas and the Kalachuris. "All the great families of Southern India were cooking up their pedigrees and devising more or less fabulous genealogies", says Rice. Thus the Northern origin theory of the Hoysalas cannot be accepted. Initially they were ruling from the Malenadu region and do not appear to have been in any way connected with the North. Their own inscriptions state that the first member of their family, Sala, was from Shashakapura. Rice and other scholars have pointed out that they were an indigenous family originally belonging to Sosevuru, identified as Angadi in Mudugere Taluk. Maleparolganda or master of the Male chiefs was their proud epithet and it was their sign manual, which they put in Kannada even in their Tamil records. This shows that they were originally from a family of hill chieftains (Malepas), and later became overlords of many such chieftains, thus calling themselves as Maleparolganda.

Almost all major records of the Hoysalas narrate the story of Sala, the "founder" of their dynasty. He was a youth from Shashakapura (Sosevur). He once went to the temple of his family deity Vasanthika to offer worship. A tiger appeared on the scene, and a Jaina *muni* staying in the precincts of the temple ordered him "*Poy Sala*", meaning "Strike O Sala". Sala hit the tiger and killed it. Thus the family came to have the name Poysala, and Sala hitting the tiger became the family emblem of the dynasty. This story appears for the first time in the Beluru Record of Vishnuvardhana dated 1117. A later record of 1208 states the name of the Jaina *muni* as Sudatta. These accounts further state that sage secured Sala a boon from Goddess Vasanthikadevi and made him king.

Anyway, the earlier history of the dynasty is obscure and we are not sure whether Sala was really a historical personage. The first record of the family is of Kama, dated 1006. Possibly the Hoysalas in their initial days were feudatories of the Gangas in the Male region and must have risen to eminence after the fall of the Gangas

The Hoysalas had to wage severe wars against the Cholas who had occupied southern parts of Karnataka. The successes of the early Hoysala chieftains against the Cholas may have been symbolically narrated as Sala having killed a tiger, the tiger being the royal emblem of the Cholas.

Kama or Nripakama bore the title Permanadi, and this was a title peculiar to the Gangas. This seems to point "to an alliance between the Hoysalas and the Gangas", says Prof. B. S. Krishnaswami Iengar. In his war against the Cholas, Kama appears to have been defeated. Still he held his territories in the Male region.

Kama was succeeded by Vinayadithya, his son, and records describe him as a feudatory of the Chalukyas. Hoysaladevi, the queen of Chalukya Someshvara I, must be either his sister or daughter. His son Ereyanga had distinguished himself during the Chalukya campaign against Dhara in Malava. Vinayadithya defeated the Male chiefs like the Kongalvas, Chengalvas, Santharas of Humcha and the Kadambas of Bayalanadu (Vainad). He had control over the Vainadu region and parts of Gangavadi. He was succeeded by Ereyangadeva in 1098. Vinayadithya's rule extended from 1047 to 1098. The Hoysalas rose into eminence as the strong feudatories of the Chalukyas during this time. Ereyanga ruled for a short period, till 1102, though his career as *yuvaraja* was brilliant. He shifted the capital from Sosevuru to Beluru. He was followed on the throne by Ballala I. Ballala I subdued the Chengalvas and defeated Jagadeva Santhara. Vishnuvardhana (Bittideva), his younger brother, succeeded him in 1108 and he was one of the greatest Hoysala monarchs.

Vishnuvardhana : "Reign of Vishnuvardhana is packed with glorious military campaigns from start to finish, and though his incessant attempts to overthrow the yoke of Chalukya suzerainty proved a failure, he must be given the credit of having raised his territory to the dignity of a kingdom, which was bequeathed to the successors for the further

development into one of the most powerful empires of the South", says Prof. Coelho.

Vishnuvardhana was the governor of Gangavadi in the days of his brother and he took serious steps to free parts of Gangavadi, still under the control of the Cholas. He captured Talakadu and Kolara in 1116 and assumed the title Talakadugonda in memory of his victory. The Kirthinarayana Temple of Talakadu and Vijayanarayana of Beluru were constructed after this victory. This was followed by the defeat of the Kongalvas and the Chengalvas and his marriage with Chandaladevi, whom Dr. Derrett calls a Kongalva princess. The Nidugal Chola ruler, Irungola, was also defeated, and he proceeded towards the Nilagiris and reached as far as Kanchi. His generals collected tribute from the Santharas of Hosagunda and the Alupas of the Tulu country. The Pandyas of Uchchangi who had succeeded the Nolambas in Nolambavadi were humiliated at Dumme and Vishnuvardhana assumed the title Nolambavadigonda in 1117.

Now he prepared to attack his own overlord, Chalukya Vikrama VI, and crossed the Tungabhadra and proceeded to Kummata. The Hoysala general Gangaraja defeated the mighty Chalukyan army at Kannegala in 1118, and this was followed by the capture of the fort of Hanagal by Vishnuvardhana. He extended his arms over the Banavasi kingdom and Santalige. The Chalukya general, Boppana, was defeated at Hallur in 1120. Finally the Sinda chief, Perma of Erambarge (modern Yelburgi), took command of the Chalukya army and pursued the Hoysalas to their capital. Vishnuvardhana was forced to submit in c. 1122. Prior to this, his armies appear to have reached as far as Heddore i. e. the Krishna in the North.

After the death of Vikrama VI, Vishnuvardhana captured Hanagal, Uchchangi and Bankapura, and took the Banavasi-12000 province under his control by 1140-41. He marched as far as Lakkundi.

Though scholars like Prof. Coelho and Dr. Derrett say that his career ended in 1142, Prof. K. A. N. Sastry, Prof. S. K.

Aiyangar and Dr. Desai says that he lived upto 1152. In fact a record of 1149 says that he was camping at Bankapura, and was ruling over Gangavadi, Nolambavadi, Banavasi, Hanagal and Huligeré from this capital.

He performed ceremonies like Tulapurusha and Hiranyagarbha. He was attracted by the personality and teachings of Ramanuja and embraced Shrivaisnavism. He had in his earlier days, his eldest son, Ballaladeva, as the crown prince. He appears to have died in 1131, and Narasimha was appointed the crown prince in that year. Among his queens, Shantaladevi was an accomplished lady, well-versed in dance and music. She died at an early age. Bommaladevi was his next crowned queen. Lakshmidēvi, another queen, bore him prince Narasimha. His period is one of great cultural and religious activity. Prof. S. K. Iyengar describes him as the "maker of Hoysala kingdom". In the words of Dr. Desai, "In spite of the fact that Vikramadithya VI foiled his attempts to become independent, the achievements of Vishnuvardhana were not small. He was able to free the whole of Gangavadi from the Chola dominion. His influence spread as far as Bellary in the North and towards the latter part of his career he was practically independent".

Vishnuvardhana was succeeded by his son Narasimha who was a weak and vicious king. His dominions shrank in size. His son, Ballala II revolted against his father and assumed power in 1173. Sumanobana and Harihara were poets in the court of Narasimha and his commander Kethamalla constructed the Hoysaleshwara Temple at Dorasamudra to which place Vishnuvardhana had shifted his capital.

Ballala II: Ballala II is "outstanding among Hoysala kings", says Dr. Derrett. "Ballala vied in glory with his grandfather, and his long and vigorous reign of 47 years saw the achievement of independence which had long been coveted by his forefathers", says Prof. Coelho.

His first record is of 1165, when he was the crown prince and he was sufficiently old at that time as he was married. He

was unhappy with his father as the kingdom shrank in size during his period and he revolted against Narasimha in 1173. The Chengalvas and the Kongalvas assisted him in his revolt. But soon, Chengalva Mahadeva and his son Pemmavirappa questioned Ballala's authority. They were suppressed. His first major achievement was the capture of the fort of Uchchangi in 1171 from Pandya Kavadeva. This fort had been captured by Vishnuvardhana and subsequently lost. Ballala II assumed the title Giridurgamalla and Shanivarasiddhi after this remarkable victory. Next he captured Hanagal in 1178 and tried to advance in Belvola when he had to face stiff opposition from the Kalachuris of Kalyana. He lost Hanagal the next year and was forced to accept the Kalachuri overlordship for some time. But the weakening of the Kalachuri power at Kalyana and finally the fall of the Chalukyas themselves made the Hoysalas sovereign rulers and this happened in the days of Ballala II.

In fact Ballala captured Balliganve in 1184 and soon clashed with the Seunas after the fall of the Chalukyas. He defeated Chalukya Someshvara IV in 1187. This led to a severe conflict with the Seunas which resulted in the bloody Battle of Soratur dated 1190 which saw a major success of Ballala against Bhillama V. When the Battle of Soratur brought the rich region, Belvola, under Ballala II's control, he camped at Lakkundi for long and reached as far as Manvi in the North. A record of 1196 informs us about his victory over Banavasi, Hanagal, Halasi, Huligere, Nolambavadi, Belvola, Bagadage, Erambarage, Kisukadu, Ayyanavadi, Masavadi, Kelavadi, Sindarige, Uchchangi and Ballakuderi. This shows that he had reached as far as the Krishna. After 1212 he appears to have been driven back to the South of the Tungabhadra by Seuna Singhana II. During Ballala's stay in Belvola, the Sinda chief of Belagutti revolted. Queen Umadevi who was in charge of administration at the capital subdued this chief, Sinda Isvara III (1199).

Ballala had married a Chola princess, Cholamahadevi and Chola Kulottunga III had married Ballala's daughter Somaladevi. When Chola was attacked by the Pandya, Ballala sent crown prince Narasimha II to help Kulottunga III. Ballala assumed the title "Establisher of the Chola King" after his victory in Tamilnadu, and he gained some territory in the Chola country too. Ballala II had titles like Hoysala Chakravarti and Dakshina Chakravarti. When he died in 1220, his *garuda*, Lakshma, with his wife Suggaladevi and 1000 other followers, committed suicide.

Ballala II was the greatest among the Hoysalas, and his superiority has been proved by his success against the Kalachuris, Chalukyas, Seunas and the Pandyas. Ballala's period was one of great cultural activity and Kannada poet Janna was patronised by him. Poet Rudrabhatta was his contemporary. Kedareshvara Temple of Halebidu and Amriteshvara Temple near Tarikere were constructed during his period. Umadevi was his crowned queen who also looked after the administration during his absence from Dorasamudra. She also administered Magure-300. Among his many queens, Padumaladevi bore him prince Narasimha II. She also ruled over the Hosahadagali region.

Ballala II was succeeded by his son Vira Narasimha II in 1220. He successfully interfered in the politics of Tamilnadu and gained many advantages. "The Hoysalas were regarded practically as arbiters of South Indian politics. With the waning of the power of the Pandyas and the Cholas, the Hoysalas had to take up the role of leadership in South India", says Prof. B.S.K. Iyengar, describing the political situation of this period. He defeated the Kadavas and the Pandyas and levied tribute on them. He also helped Chola Rajaraja III to strengthen his position. Perhaps, he was Narasimha's son-in-law. Narasimha founded a second capital at Kannanur Kuppam near Srirangam. His records claim that he marched as far as Rameshwaram,

But Narasimha's pre-occupations in Tamilnadu resulted in his neglect of the northern boundaries where the Seunas started encroachment. He was succeeded by his son Someshvara in 1235 and he stayed at Kannanur Kuppam most of the time, as he was busy engaged in the affairs of Tamilnadu. When Chola Rajendra III appeared to be getting strong, Someshvara allied himself with the Pandyas, and still later he deserted the Pandyas and befriended the Cholas. This pre-occupation of the Hoysalas in the South resulted in Seuna Krishna crossing the Tungabhadra and reaching as far as the Chitradurga region.

During his last days, Someshvara had his kingdom divided between his two sons, Ramanatha (ruling from Kannanur) and Narasimha III (at Dorasamudra). This appears to have happened in 1254, but Someshvara continued to stay at Kannanur with Ramanatha. Later he was killed in a war with Pandyas, and they expelled Ramanatha from Kannanur before 1280. Ramanatha came to Kundani in Karnataka and started encroaching upon his brother's territory in Karnataka. He died in 1295 and he was succeeded by his son Vishvanatha who ruled till 1300.

Narasimha III had to face a strong Seuna invasion which even attacked his capital. But they were repulsed. Narasimha was succeeded by his son Ballala III in 1291.

Ballala III: Ballala III is another powerful ruler of the Hoysala family. The partition of the Hoysala dominion ended with the death of Vishvanatha and Ballala III ruled over the combined territories. But he had to face the Seuna forces in 1303, who had reached as far as Holalkere. Ballala chased them to Lakkundi in 1304 and destroyed the fort there. In the meanwhile he had also to fight against the Kadambas of Hanagal and the Santharas of Hosagunda.

There was a dispute for succession in the Pandya country and Ballala went to aid Sundara Pandya as against Vira Pandya. When Ballala had gone to the South, his capital was attacked

by the armies of Alla-ud-din Khilji, the Sultan of Delhi. Malik Kafur, the Delhi commander, plundered the Seuna capital Devagiri and reached Dorasamudra (Halebidu) in 1311. The city was plundered. Ballala submitted to the Delhi Sultan's army, and accompanied the forces to Madhurai with his own army. Later Ballala sent his son Vira Virupaksha to Delhi with Malik Kafur. The prince returned to Dorasamudra in 1313.

By 1318, the Seuna power was completely destroyed, and Kampiladeva of Kummata, a former Seuna feudatory became an adversary of Ballala III. Ballala's war against Kampila brought him no advantage. In 1327, Muhammad-bid-Tughluq sent an expedition to the South against Dorasamudra as Ballala had withdrawn his allegiance to Delhi. The city was plundered for a second time. Ballala III retreated to Tiruvannamalai. The Delhi army reached Madurai and the Pandya territory was subjugated. The Sultanate of Madurai was founded soon after, in 1336. Ballala made Tiruvannamalai his capital and tried to organise his army against the expeditions from the North. The Seunas, the Kakatiyas of Orangal the rulers of Kampila and the Pandyas had been destroyed, and he was the only Hindu ruler left to resist the Islamic invasion in the South. He also founded a new second capital called Hosapattana on the banks of the Tungabhadra, indentified as later Vijayanagara by scholars like Fr. Heras and Prof. Coelho.

In his effort to annihilate the Sultan of Madurai, Ballala was killed in 1343. Thus a great Hoysala monarch died. Ibn Batuta gives a graphic description of his pathetic end. His son Vira Virupaksha also died in 1346. Thus the Hoysala rule came to an end.

The long reign of Ballala III was a period of great confusion and turmoil. His was a career of restless resistance. He was the "greatest hero in the dark political atmosphere of the South".

Administration: The Hoysala administration did not differ much from that of the earlier rulers. Their inscriptions

speak of the king as "protecting the good and restraining the wicked". The king was assisted in administration by his ministers whose number, according Prof. Coelho, was five. Dr. Derrett has pointed out that they were a bigger number. The group of ministers had grown so large by the 13th century that the advice of all of them could not have been sought on all issues, says he. They were to advise him, but were finally to implement his orders. *Sandhivigrahi* was the foreign minister. *Sarvadhikari* was an official with powers to supervise all departments. *Bhattaraniyogadhipati* was an official who headed 72 departments. *Mahabhandari* was the senior treasurer. These were all members of the cabinet. *Paramavishvasi* or personal secretary of the king and *Mahapasayita* or chief master of the robes were other senior officials. At times these officials held their office hereditarily. This is indicated by the fact that one Harihara in the days of Narasimha II was called *anvayagatha pradhana* or minister who held the office hereditarily. The ministers also held military office and they were therefore called as *dandanayakas*.

Crowned queens and crowned princes also played an important part in the administration. Umadevi looked after the administration from Dorasamudra when her husband Ballala II was away in Belvola for long years. The king had a special corps of bodyguard known as *garudas*. They committed suicide when the king died. Chokimayya was the *garuda* of Vishnuvardhana and Lakshma of Ballala II.

The king had a minister of justice or *dharmadhikari*. Such officials also existed in provinces. He administered both criminal and civil justice. The king was the final court of appeal. Ordeal or *divya* prevailed in trials and people were asked to take oath in favour of their cases by holding consecrated food or sandal paste (*prasada*) in their hands.

It is very difficult to identify the administrative divisions under the Hoysalas, though inscriptions speak of *nadus* and *vishayas*. We do not know which unit was bigger of the two. Dr. Derrett says that the *nadu* was looked after by a *danda-*

nayaka who was an army commander. He was assisted by a *mahapradhana*, a *bhandari* (treasurer), a *senabova* (clerk) and several junior officials called *heggades* who perhaps looked after the smaller units of a *nadu*. Feudatory royal families like the Chengalvas, Kongalvas, Sindas of Belagutti, Santharas and the Alupas were allowed to continue.

The town and village assemblies referred to as *okkalu*, *halaru*, *preje*, *samudaya* etc., in inscriptions, were allowed to continue. Certain villages had executives called as *hittus* or *samayas*. Each *hittu* represented a caste of the village and their number varied. Some villages had eight men of the *hittus* representing eight castes, others 18. Gauda or the village headman is also mentioned in records. The *agrarahas* had assemblies of mahajans, who were heads of families in that settlement of *brahmin* scholars. The towns had guilds of merchants. The heads of the merchant guilds were called *mahavaddabeharis*. Artisans like smiths had their guilds called *panchalas*.

Land revenue was the chief source of royal income. A central land register called *kaditha* existed. The land revenue was called as *siddhaya* and included *kula* or original assessment and various cesses. These cesses were collected in a fixed proportion to *kula*. Profession taxes were also levied. Marriage tax, customs duties on goods in transit like chariots, carriages, domesticated animals, betel leaves, ghee, ropes, yarn etc., are also mentioned in their records. *Balavana* was tax on cattle. Taxes on hearth (*hogedere*), houses, shops, cattle pans, sugarcane presses etc., also existed. Fines were a major source of royal income.

The Hoysalas issued gold coins called gadyana or honnu, weighing 62 grains, pana or hana, one-tenth of gadyana, haga, one-fourth of pana and visa, one-fourth of a haga. There were also coins called bele and kani.

Literary activity : The period of the Hoysalas witnessed substantial literary activity, both in Kannada and Sanskrit. In Sanskrit philosophical literature of Vishishtadvaita and Dvaita

Vedanta appeared, as Ramanuja and Madhwa expounded their philosophies during the days of the Hoysalas. *Rigbhashya* of Madhwacharya and *Rudraprashnabhashya* of Vidyatirtha deserve special mention. Many commentaries and treatises on portions of *Samhita*, *Brahmana*, *Sutra* etc., were written. Prof. K. T. Pandurangi feels that all these must have been absorbed in the commentary later written by Sayanacharya in the Vijayanagara days. Ramanuja must have written at least some of his works during his stay in Karnataka. Madhwacharya, who lived during the last decades of the empire, his sister Kalyanidevi and his disciple, Trivikrama Pandita wrote many works on Dvaita Vedanta. Trivikrama wrote a poem, *Usha-harana* which narrates the story of Usha and Aniruddha. Trivikrama's son Narayana Pandita composed *Madhwavijaya*, *Manimanjari* and *Parijataharana*, the last named being a poem.

Anandabodha Bhattacharya was an Advaita writer of the period. Balachandra and Ramachandra Maladhari were two Jaina writers. The latter wrote *Gurupanchasmriti*.

But the bulk of Sanskrit literature of the period was only religious, and a few secular works were produced. There was a family renowned as Vidyachakravartins who were patronised hereditarily by the Hoysala rulers. Vidyachakravartin II of the family who was in the court of Narasimha II, wrote a prose work, *Gadyakarnamrita* describing the war between Narasimha II and the Pandyas. His grandson, Vidyachakravartin III composed *Rukminikalyana*, a *kavya* in 18 cantos. He has also written commentaries on poetics and *alankara* making references to the Hoysala rulers.

Great Kannada poets like Harihara, Raghavanka and Janna were from the Hoysala kingdom. Nagachandra is described by some as from Ballala I's court. He wrote *Ramachandra Cheritapurana* also known as *Pamparamayana* which gives a Jaina version of the *Ramayana*. *Mallinathapurana*, a poem on the life of the 19th Tirthankara, is his second work. He called himself as Abhinava Pampa. Rajadithya wrote *Vyavaharaganita* and *Lilavati*, works on mathematics, in the days of

Vishnuvardhana. Sumanobana, an officer of Narasimha I, was also a poet, and his son Janna was the poet-laureate in the court of Ballala II. Janna's *Yashodharacharite* is a Jaina work, one of the classics in Kannada.

Harihara, who was an accountant in the court of Narasimha I, gave up his job and stayed at Hampi. He wrote *Girijakalyana*, a *champu* work. It narrates the story of *Kumarasambhava*. He also composed many *ragales* or poems in blank verse. He has more than 100 poems to his credit. *Basavarajadevararagale* is one among them. Raghavanka, his nephew, established the *shatpadī* tradition in Kannada. His works include *Harishchandrakavya*, *Siddharamapurana*, *Somanathacharite* and *Vireshacharite*. The first mentioned work is treated as one of the classics in Kannada. Kereya Padmarasa was another poet who wrote *Dikshabodhe* in *ragale* metre. Rudhrabhatta is the first *brahmin* poet in Kannada. His *Jagannatha Vijaya* is a poem which stresses devotion to Vishnu. Nemichandra wrote *Neminathapurana* and a romance called *Lilavati*. Mallikarjuna, who was a brother-in-law of Janna, composed an anthology of Kannada poems called *Sukthisudharnava* wherein quotations from 20 earlier poets are given. His son Keshiraja wrote *Shabdhamanidarpana* an authoritative work on Kannada grammar.

Art and Architecture : Hoysalas built beautiful temples which studded the length and breadth of their kingdom. The style, though an offshoot of Chalukyan architecture, has certain independent features which entitle it to an independent school, Hoysala architecture. While tracing the influence of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian styles on the Hoysala architecture, Percy Brown says that the impact of the northern developments are negligible on the Hoysala style and adds "the effect of the southern style is distinctly marked". Brown enumerates four distinguished characters of the Hoysala style : The main temple has a *garbhagriha*, a *shukanasi* and a *navaranga* and at times a *mukhamantapa*. The second feature is that the outer wall surface is subject to horizontal treatment. The outer wall

of the pillared hall is divided into two horizontal divisions, and of the *vimana* into three. The walls of the hall have a procession of elephants at the bottom, a border of horsemen above that and a band of foliage. The second part has a frieze of depictions from the epics. Above this are two friezes of *yalis* and *hamsas*.

Around the *vimana* or *garbhagriha*, the basement is continuation of the same *motifs* as around the rest of the building. But above these two divisions is a wide space, where within ornate niches or under foliated canopies, images of Gods, 3 to 4 feet height, are engraved.

The tower or *shikhara* is the third characteristic of the style, which according to Brown, is the keynote of the style. The stellate system of the base of *garbhagriha* is carried through the *shikhara* to produce a fluted effect on the tower above. But the tower is also divided into an orderly succession of tiers, each tier diminishing in height. The apex of the *vimana* has a finial resembling an umbrella.

The fourth characteristic of the style as stated by Brown is the lathe-turned pillars with four brackets above them. These columns are a speciality of the Chalukya-Hoysala style in Karnataka. Atop the brackets stand fine figures of *sala-bhanjikas* or *madanikas* which are the most superior pieces of Hoysala sculpture.

In addition to the four above stated features of the style described by Brown, a few more can also be stated. The Hoysala temple stands on a high platform or *jagati*, 5 to 6 feet in height. The temple looks like a casket, standing on this wide platform. The *jagati* also serves as a *pradakshinapatha*, as the temple's *garbhagriha* has no such arrangement. It also helps the onlooker to have access to sculptures on the outer wall.

Sixthly, the temple has a highly engraved doorway which is profusely decorated with *makaratorana* and other devices. The use of pierced-windows or stone-screens to cover the

upper portions of *navaranga* or *sabhamantapa* is another feature of the temple.

The earliest example of the style is the temple at Belur of 1117, constructed by Dasoja and his son Chavana, the master-builders, and hailing from Balliganve. The temple has a pillared hall, stellate or star-shaped *vimana* and a square vestibule. The pillared hall or *mantapa* has polygonal *bhuvaneshvari* at the centre, from which suspends a medallion, having the figure of God Narasimha engraved on that, facing the ground.

The next and the most important building of the style is the Hoysaleswara of Halebidu, a double temple. Standing on a common platform, each temple here is in the shape of a cross, joined at their inner arms. The outer walls have a bewildering display of plastic art. Brown has called this temple "the supreme climax of Indian architecture". Kadaraja was its master-builder. The triple shrine or *trikuta* at Somanathapura has been regarded as illustrating the style in its maturity. The three shrines here have a common main entrance, and from *mahamantapa* there is an entrance for each shrine. Its lay-out is in the shape of a cross.

Constructed in chloritic schist or slate stone, the Hoysala temples and the sculptures therein are highly ornate and are of finer finish. Their sculptured figures, especially the bracket figures, have been objects of praise at the hands of art critics of the whole world. They include *Shukabhashini*, *Darpanadharini* and other damsels in various dancing poses. Their fine finish and the profuse ornamentation round them, where the wealth of the sculptor's art is displayed in great detail and variety, have caused them to be regarded as the enlarged creations of the ivory workers.

There are almost one hundred temples of this style, but many of them are in a bad state of preservation. Mention can be made of the temples at Basaralu, Tarikere, Arasikere, Mosalehalli, Doddagaddavalli and others.

The Hoysalas are mostly remembered for their contribution to the field of art and architecture.

THE SEUNAS (Yadavas)

The Seunas or Sevunas (this is how they are called in records) also known as the Yadavas, ruled from Devagiri, modern Daulatabad. Initially they were the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas of Kalyana, but finally they became a sovereign power and ruled till the beginning of the 14th century. The Sanskrit Encyclopaedia, *Chaturvarga Chintamani* by Hemadri is the most important source for their history. *Lilacharita* (in Marathi), the biography of Saint Chakradhara, *Suktimukthavali* of Jalhana, and *Hammira Madamardana*, a play by Jayasimha Suri, both Sanskrit works, are other literary sources. Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*, and Ismai's *Futuh-us-Salatin* give us some details about the last days of the empire. But inscriptions, no doubt, are the most important source material for the study of the history of the dynasty. There are more than 500 records of the dynasty, mostly in Kannada, beginning with the Sangamner Record of Bhillama II. But till the accession of Bhillama V, there are hardly a dozen records, though after this time they are numerous.

The Muslim writers call the dynasty as the Yadavas and Dr. Fleet and Dr. Bhandarkar also call them by the same name. But Hemadri and the contemporary records of rulers like the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Hoysalas and the Kakatiyas, refer to them only as the Seunas. The word Seuna is derived from the name Seunachandra, the second ruler of the dynasty. Dr. Srinivasa Ritti feels that it is the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word '*sadguna*'.

Origin : According to Hemadri, they were originally from Mathura, and later migrated to Dwaraka, from where they moved southwards. Their records call them as Dvaravatipura-varadhishvaras, masters of the town Dvaravati or Dwaraka. The

founder of the dynasty, Dridaprahara is described as the second son of Subahu, the king of Dwaraka. He started ruling from Srinagara, says Hemadri, and it was his son, Seunachandra who gave their territory the name Seuna Desha. Scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar have dismissed the whole story. Dr. Bhandarkar feels that they were an indigenous Maratha family ruling from Nasik and Ahmednagar Districts. Their claim that they belong to the Yadu clan is only mythical, as such a claim was popular in medieval times with the royal families. The Hoysalas, the Vijayanagara dynasties and the Odeyars of Mysore have eagerly tried to associate themselves with the Yadavas of Dwaraka.

There is reason to believe that the Yadavas are of indigenous (Kannada) origin, Seuna Desha or the Nasik-Ahmednagar region was a Kannada territory at the time of the origin of the dynasty. Secondly, a majority of their inscriptions are only in Kannada, and some of them are in the Kannada language and the Devanagari script. None of their records is in Marathi. Only during their last days, only Marathi invocation is found in some records. Some of their earlier coins had Kannada letters engraved on them, as pointed out by Dr. O. P. Varma. This indicates that Kannada was their court language also.

The names of the Seuna rulers such as Dhanayappa, Bhillama, Rajugi, Vadugi and Vesugi are purely Kannada names. Names like Bhillama, Singhana and Mallugi are found in the Kalachuri dynasty too. Dr. Ritti has pointed out that Seunachandra II had a Kannada title "Seliavidega".

They had matrimonial relations with Kannada royal families in a number of cases. Bhillama II had married Lachchiyavve from the Rashtrakuta family. Vaddiga had married Vaddiyavve, daughter of Rashtrakuta Dhorappa. Wives of Vesugi and Bhillamma III were Chalukya princesses. This indicates their affinity with the Kannada country. Some of the chieftains belonging to the same family were ruling in

the South, deep in the Kannada country, like the Seunas of Masavadi-140 (ruling in the Dambal-Mundargi region of the Dharwad District), as pointed out by Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy. Thus "the evidence at hand, far from proving their northern origin and migration southwards, indicates that they originally belonged to Kannada areas and due to political exigencies moved to the North", says Dr. Ritti. He adds that in the days of the Rashtrakutas, the Seunas were appointed as governors of the Nasik region, where they went and settled. Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy is of the view that, "The Seunas may have been one of the Yadava families ruling in the neighbourhood of Bijapur and Dharwad and finding it impossible to thrive under the imperial rulers, moved further North".

Hemadri's work speaks of 1. Dridaprahara (c. 825-50), 2. Seunachandra (c. 850-75), 3. Bhillama I (c. 875-900), 4. Dhadiyappa I (c. 900-925), 5. Rajugi (c. 925-50), 6. Vadugi I or Vaddiga (c. 950-975), 7. Bhillama II as the early rulers. (The dates given in the brackets are not furnished by Hemadri). The last named has left the first record of the family, the Sangamner Inscription dated 1000 A.D. He was a contemporary of Taila II of the Kalyana Chalukya family and he had helped Taila in his war against Paramara Munja. Bhillama II had the title Mahasamanta. He was followed by his son Vesugi I and later by one Arjuna whose relationship with Vesugi is not known. Dr. Ritti states that he is mentioned only by Hemadri and not by records, and he might not be a Seuna prince, but only an administrator or regent. Bhillama III (c. 1020-52), son of Vesugi, had his capital at Sindinagar, modern Sinnar in Nasik District, and in a war between Paramara Bhoja and Chalukya Someshvara, he helped the latter to be victorious. After Bhillama III ruled Vadugi II, followed by Vesugi II and Bhillama IV (c. 1069). There was a period of civil war of succession. Seunachandra II (c. 1069-85) is considered to be the grandson of Bhillama III, being the son of Vadugi II. Vesugi II was Vadugi's younger brother, and Seunachandra II came to the throne in c. 1069 after defeating Bhillama IV, son

of Vesugi, according to Dr. Ritti. He helped Chalukya Vikramadithya VI in his fight against Someshvara II, his elder brother. He was succeeded by his two sons, Airammadeva (c. 1089-1115) and Singhana I (c. 1115-1145). The period between 1145 and 1173 was one of internal feuds in the Seuna family. With the help of inscriptions and literary sources the following rulers can be identified: Mallugi (c. 1145-50), son of Singhana, succeeded his father. He was followed by his son, Amaragangeya (c. 1150-60), and grandson Govindaraja (c. 1160-7). After Govindaraja came his uncle Aparā or Amara Mallugi, who was the son of Mallugi. He was also known as Karna and Krishna (vide Methi Inscription). After him came Kaliya Ballala (c. 1170-73), his first son. Kaliya Ballala's son (whose name is not known) succeeded him, but soon he was overthrown by his uncle (Amara Mallugi's second son Bhillama V).

Bhillama V: With Bhillama V, the Seunas embarked on an imperialistic career. He was in fact "the real founder of the Seuna dynasty". He made the Seunas a major dynasty and put them on a firm footing. His Gadag Record clearly states that he was Karna's son.

His first record of 1173 describes him as a subordinate of Kalachuri Sankama of Kalyana. Hemadri has said that Seuna Bhillama defeated the ruler of Mangalavada. Scholars have identified this prince as Virabijjala, the son of Kalachuri Sovideva. Bhillama V issued his own coins after he defeated the Kalachuris. When the Chalukyas of Kalyana became powerful once again after defeating the Kalachuris, the Seunas were subdued again. Barma, the general of Someshvara IV defeated Bhillama (1183), but this victory of the Chalukyas was short-lived, and Kalyana, the Chalukyan capital, came under the control of Bhillama V (c. 1186). Soon after this, the Seunas clashed with Hoysalas for their share in the Chalukyan dominions. In the North, Bhillama V had to also fight against the Paramaras and the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. He defeated Paramara Vindhavarman and Chaulukya Bhima II, and marched

towards the Chahamana kingdom of Nadol. But Chahamanas foiled Bhillama's attempts to overrun their territory. Bhillama's Mutgi Record claims that he defeated the Kalingas, Gaudas, Vanges, Angas, Nepalas and the Panchalas. This is an exaggerated statement. He appears to have won victories in his wars against Chola Kulottunga III.

In the South, he captured major parts of Belvola, and marched deep into the Hoysala territory. In one of his records, he even claims to have reached so far as the Srirangapattana region, where Ballala II claims to have defeated him at Ingalaguppa.

The final trial of strength took place at Soratur near Gadag in 1190 when Ballala II completely defeated Bhillama V. Bhillama died after two years.

Bhillama founded a new capital, Devagiri. He was a great ruler to whom goes the credit of making the Seunas a sovereign power. His empire extended as far as the Narmada in the North, and Krishna in the South.

He was succeeded by his son Jaitugi, also known as Jaitrapala and Jaitrasimha in 1192. He defeated Paramara Subhatavarman, and killed Kakatiya Rudra and Mahadeva. He enthroned Kakatiya Ganapati at Orangal, and assumed the title "Establisher of the Tailungarajya". Lakshmidhara, son of the noted mathematician Bhaskaracharya was his minister.

Singhana II: The greatest among the Seuna rulers, Singhana II succeeded his father Jaitugi in 1200 and enjoyed a long rule till 1247. He continued his war against the Paramaras and killed Subhatavarman and later, in a second war, his son Arjanavarman, the next ruler. He also warred against Chahamana Simha. Though he initially met with reverses, finally he killed him. Singhana's commander, Kholeshvara installed a pillar of victory at Broach on the Gujarat coast.

He humiliated the Kadambas of Goa and of Hanagal, and also the Shilaharas of Kolhapur. In his war against the Hoysalas, he wrested Lakkundi, their second capital in 1213,

He extended his dominions to the Tungabhadra in the South (1215). The Sinda's of Belagutti also became their feudatories. As Hoysala Narasimha was busy with the affairs in Tamilnadu, he could not pay proper attention towards this northern adversary.

In his war with the Telugu Chodas, Singhana was defeated by Choda Tikkana. The friendly relationship between the Kakatiyas and the Seunas was broken and Kakatiya Ganapati claims a victory over Singhana in 1231. By the close of Singhana's rule the Kakatiyas became strong once again. In 1240 Rama, son of Kholeshwara, crossed the Narmada and clashed with Vaghela Visaladeva. But Rama died in the battle. Yet Singhana's position in South Gujarat remained undisturbed.

During his time, the Seuna empire grew to its maximum size with the Narmada in the North and the Tungabhadra in the South as its boundaries. In the West the Konkana and South Gujarat coasts were also under their control. "The credit of making the Seunas a force to reckon with in the Deccan goes to Singhana" says Dr. Narasimha Murthy. Singhana was a great patron of scholars. Changadeva and Kannada poet Kamalabhava were in his court. Sharngadeva, the great authority on music was patronised by him. Singhana was succeeded by his grandson Krishna or Kannara, the son of Jaitugi, who predeceased his father Singhana II.

Krishna defeated the ruler of Malava soon after his coming to the throne, and later Visaladeva of Gujarat. The territory of the Sindas of Belagutti was merged in his kingdom (1247) and his records are found as far as Chitradurga District in the South and Chanda and Amaravati Districts in the North. Amalananda and Jalhana were scholars in his court. Mahadeva, his brother, succeeded him in 1261. He merged the territory of the Shilahara's of Konkana in his kingdom, after defeating Someshvara of that line and Mahadeva assumed the title Konkana Chakravarti. The Hoysalas defeated him in 1271, but his position in the Chitradurga region remained undisturbed.

Amana, his son, succeeded him, and he was soon overthrown by Ramachandra, son of Krishna. Ramachandra defeated the rulers of Malava and Vaghela Arjunadeva of Gujarat. He also subdued Singeya of Kummata. His commandder Tikkana raided Dorasamudra in 1276, and the Santhara prince of Hosagunda became a tributary of the Seunas.

Alla-ud-din Khilji invaded Devagiri and collected a large booty in 1296. But Ramachandra warred twice against Hoysala Ballala III (in 1301 and 1304) and only got himself emaciated. Malik Kafur invaded Devagiri in 1307 and took Ramachandra captive to Delhi. Later he agreed to be a feudatory of the Sultan and got his release. He helped Malik Kafur during his raids over Orangal and Dorasamudra. Ramachandra died 1312. Sant Jnaneshvar composed his Marathi work, 'Jnaneshvari' during his rule.

Ramachandra's son, Singhna III, ruled for sometime, and later when he tried to free himself from his surveillance to Delhi, Malik Kafur had him killed in 1313. Harapaladeva, the son-in-law of Ramachandra, tried to revive Seuna rule, but was killed in his war against the Delhi Sultan in 1318. We find a record of Mallugi III, son of Singhana III, ruling as a feudatory of the Delhi Sultan in 1334. This is the last mention of a Seuna ruler.

Administration: Having been the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas and the Chalukyas of Kalyana, the Seunas continued the administrative traditions of their former overlords. Kingship was hereditary and the eldest son succeeded his father to the throne. When Krishna's son was too young to succeed him, his brother Mahadeva came to the throne. But when Mahadeva's son Amana tried to succeed his father by setting aside the claims of Krishna's son, Ramachandra foiled the efforts of Amana. The king was the military leader, the head of administration and the supreme judge. No doubt, he had a cabinet to assist him.

The Seuna rulers had a large cabinet and many ministers held their positions hereditarily, as in the case of Lakshmidhara

and his son Changaadeva. *Mahamatya*, considered as revenue minister by Dr. Altekar, *sandhivigrahi* or foreign minister, *koshadhikari* or chief treasurer, were some of the members of the cabinet. There were various senior officials, perhaps with the cabinet rank, like *bhattaranyogedhipati* or an officer in charge of 72 departments, *sarvadhikari*, perhaps an administrative supervisor, *srikanadhipa*, perhaps chief accounts officer, and *rajyadhyaksha*, perhaps chief justice. Noted scholar Hemadri was a *srikanadhipa*. All officials were appointed on merit, and in many cases hereditarily. Some ministers supervised provincial administration too. People of all castes, including Shudras, were appointed for various positions.

The kingdom was divided into *vishayas* and Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy feels that their kingdom had eight *vishayas* which included Kuntala, Tardavadi, Banavasi, Karnata and Nalavadi. Mahamandaleshvaras or feudatory rulers such as the Rattas of Saundatti, Sindas of Yerambarage, Guttas of Guttal, Kadmbas of Karadikal and the Haihayas of Morata-300 etc., were allowed to continue. At the capitals of these feudatories, an imperial officer with the designation of Mahapradhana was posted. He had a small imperial contingent under him and he was a liason between the centre and the feudatory states.

Vishayas were divided into *nadus* and they were big units, having about 1000 villages in them. Nadagauda or nadaheggade administered the unit and collected revenue. These *nadus* had their own public assemblies termed as *nadus* and *mahanadus*, the latter being an assembly of merchants. But there were smaller *nadus* like Masavadi-140 with 140 villages in it and Morte with 300 villages. Banavasi-12000 had smaller units like Nagara Khanda-70, Sattalige-70 and Noorumbada (100 villages : Rattihalli region) in it.

Towns and cities had officers called *pattanaswamis*. There were civic assemblies called *nakeras* or *nagaras*. Towns had assemblies of merchants called *mummaridandas*, *settiguttas* and *nanadeshis*.

The village was looked after by a *gaunda* or *prabhu* or *heggade*. Big villages had more than one *gaunda*. The chief of an *agrahara* village was called *urodeya*. Each village had an assembly consisting of the heads of leading families in that village, and these organisations are called 50 *okkalus* ('*aiva-ttokkalu*') or 60 *okkalus* ('*arvattokkalu*') and so on. The *gaundas* were remunerated either in cash or in land. *Divya* or ordeal was in vogue in administering justice.

Land revenue, no doubt, was the chief source of royal income and it is called *aruvana* and *siddhaya*; land units like *mattaru*, *nivartana* and *kamma* are mentioned in records. *Hejjunka* or excise duty on wholesale goods, *kirukula* or duty on retail goods, and profession taxes called *karuka* were collected. Hardsmen were made to pay tax in the form of the first calf of a cow or of a she-buffaloe.

Coins like *nishka*, *dramma*, *pana*, *haga*, *chaula* and *kani* are mentioned in records. Dr. A. V. N. Murthy feels that *dramma* appears to be a silver coin and *nishka* the same as *gadyana*. Private individuals could also issue coins by paying a tax called *tanke*.

Cultural Contribution : Two new religions, Virashivism and Mahanubhava sect came into existence during the period. Hemadri, a Seuna minister, tried to uphold the orthodox Hindu religion and the existing caste system during the same period by writing his voluminous work *Chaturvarga Chintamani* in Sanskrit. Chakradhara, a great saint, contemporary of Krishna, was the founder of the Mahanubhava sect. The Mahanubhaves ('men of great experience') did not accept any deity except Krishna and considered Dattatreya as the manifestation of Krishna. They expounded *jnana* and *bhakti mergas* and stressed the latter. Image worship was not acceptable to them.

Literature : Hemadri was the great Sanskrit literary personage of the period and his work *Chaturvarga Chintamani* is an encyclopaedia of ancient religious rites and observances.

He was an official under Mahadeva and Ramachandra. He also wrote *Kaivalyadipika*, a commentary on *Mukthaphala* of Vopadeva, a work embodying the philosophy of *Bhagavatapurana*. Vopadeva, Hemadri's contemporary, wrote *Mugdhabodha*, a grammar of the Sanskrit language, and *Harilila*, an index of *Bhagavatha*. Hemadri also wrote a work on medicine called *Ayurvedarasayana*.

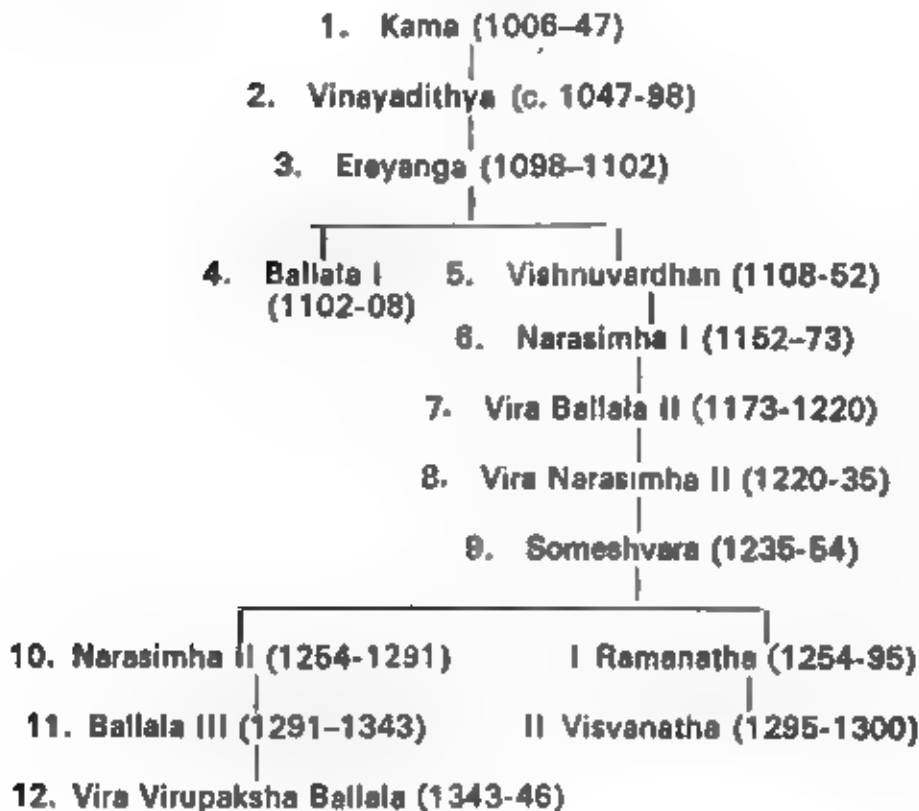
Great mathematician Bhaskaracharya produced *Siddhanta-shiromani* and *Karnakutuhala*. The first work has some chapters on algebra. One of his relations, Anantadeva wrote a commentary on Varahamihira's *Brihajataka* and another commentary on the 7th chapter of Brahmagupta's *Brihatsputa-siddhanta*.

Mukundaraja, the first great author in Marathi wrote certain philosophical treatises, and *Vivekasindhu*, his earliest work, was completed in 1190. The Mahanubhavas gave great impetus to Marathi literary activity. Mahimabhatta wrote *Lilacharita* (1238), a biography of saint Chakradhara. *Siddhantasutren* and *Drishtantapatha* are his other Mahanubhava works. Bhaskarabhatta (work: *Sishupalavadha*, 1292), Damodara (*Vachchaharana*, 1278) and Narendra (*Rukmini Swayamvara*, 1292) are some Marathi authors of the period. Mahadayisa was a Marathi poetess. Jnaneshvara, the greatest Marathi writer of antiquity, composed *Jnaneshvari*, a commentary on *Bhagavadgita* in 1290. He also composed some *abhangas* or devotional songs and this type of composition became very popular during later centuries.

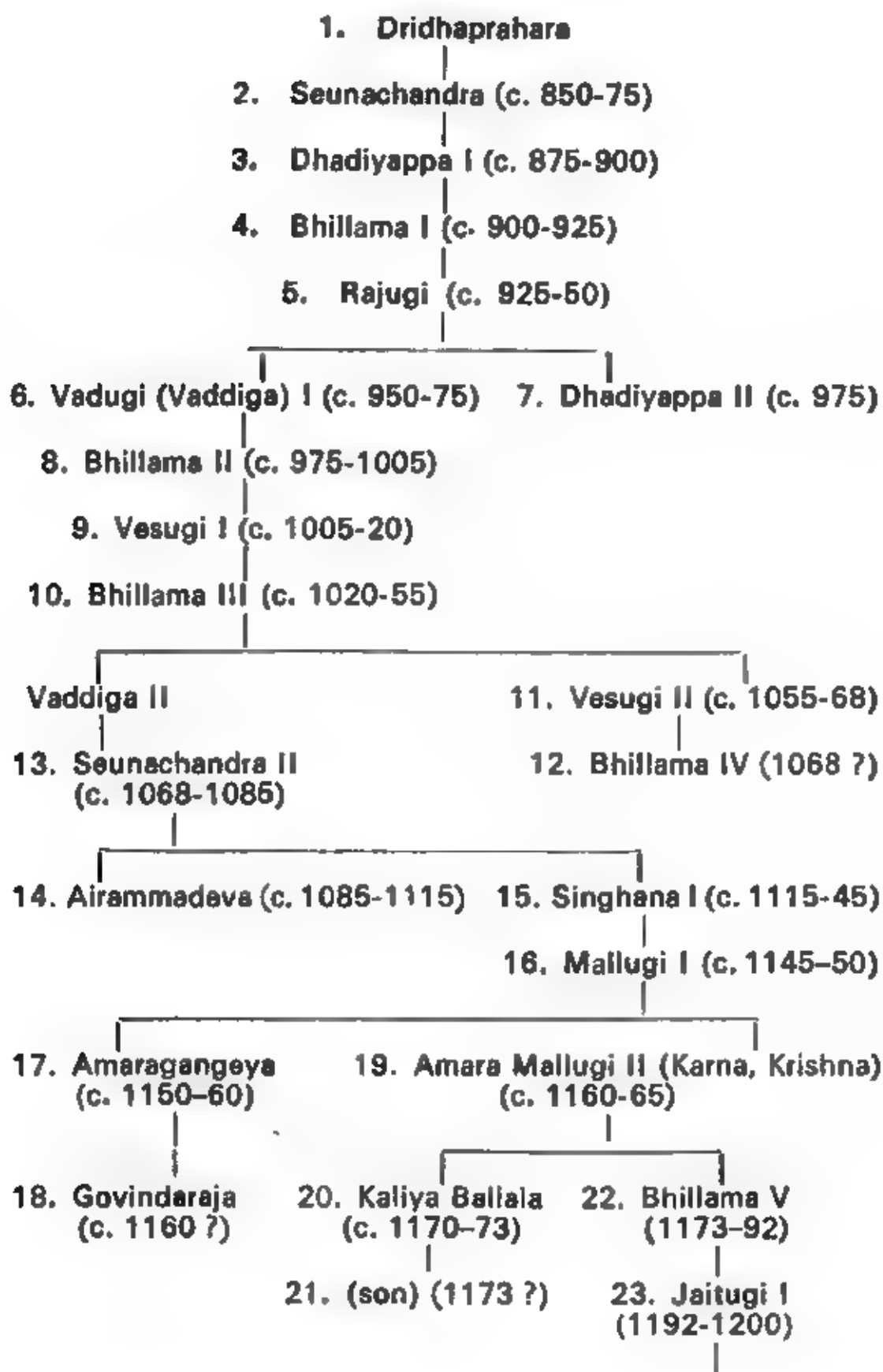
Kamalabhava wrote a Jaina work *Santhiswarapurana* in Kannada in the Seuna court. Achanna composed *Vardhamanapurana* (1198). Virasaivism flourished in the Seuna empire, and great literary activity in Kannada in the form of Vachana-sahitya was witnessed in the contemporary Chalukyan empire during the same period. Amugideva, a *vachanakara*, was a contemporary of Singhaana II. Chaundarasa (from Pandharpur?) wrote *Dashakumara Charita*, a translation of Dandins work in Sanskrit.

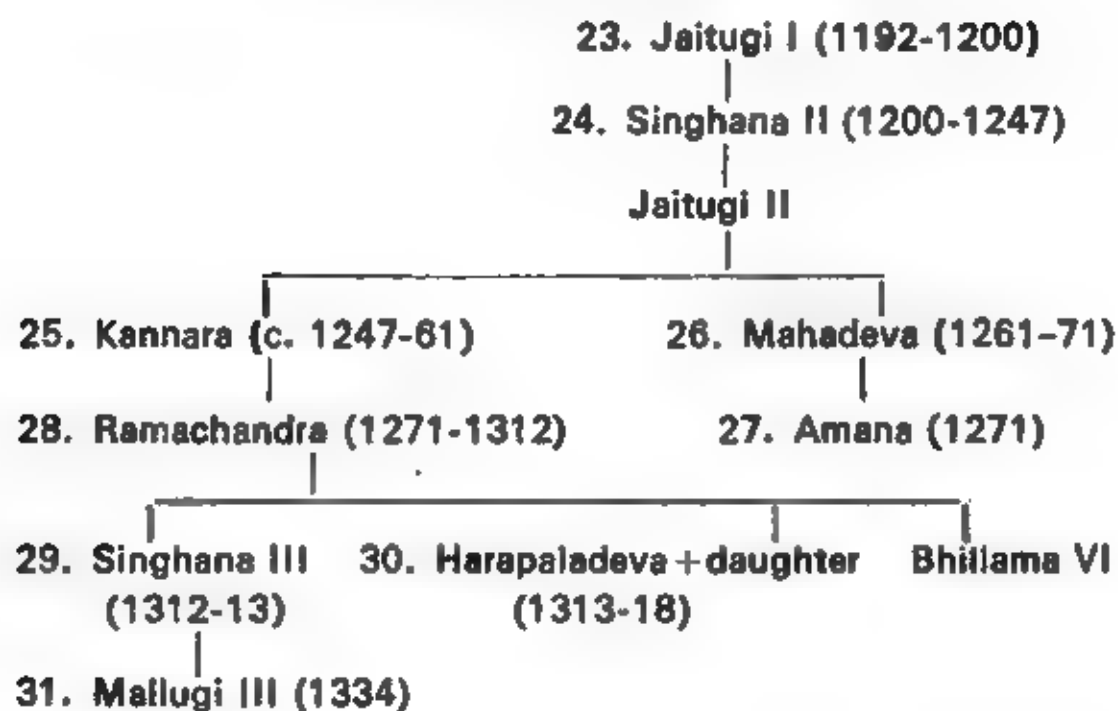
Architecture: The architectural monuments of the Seunas are contemporaneous with those of the Chalukyas, Hoysalas and the Solankis of Central India. The temples at Ambarnath, Belasane, Sinnar, Pedgaon, Satagaon and Lonar are creations of this period, and now are in Maharashtra. They are small like those of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, with monolithic pillars. Some of their temples have northern *shikharas* with pronounced vertical bands, and are rising as a single tower. Certain temples of the period are called Hemadapanthi temples, and notable for their plainness of the outer walls. The temple of Nilanga in Bidar District and the one at Ramtek near Nagpur are fine examples of this class.

I HOYSALA GENEALOGY



II SEUNA GENEALOGY





CHAPTER VIII

THE FOUR ACHARYAS AND THEIR TEACHINGS

Karnataka has been a home of many religions. The *Chatussamayas* or four religions, namely Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished in Karnataka. It had been a stronghold of Jainism as noticed in earlier chapters. The earliest Shaiva temple in Karnataka is found at Talagunda. The Kalamukha Shaivas built many Shiva temples. The earliest Vaishnava temple is the rock-cut shrine at Badami (578 A.D.). Buddhism was popular here from the Ashokan times. From the beginning of the ninth century till the middle of the 14th, four *Acharyas*, namely, Shankara, Ramanuja, Basava and Madhwa spread their teachings in Karnataka. The last two were born in Karnataka, and the first two worked for long in the region. Their teachings influenced the life and culture of the people in a substantial way.

Shankaracharya (788–820): Shankara was born of Nambudiri brahmin parents at Kalati in Kerala in 788. He lost his father Shivaguru at an early age. Shankara turned an ascetic even when he was a boy, and was initiated by Govinda Bhagavatpada, a *yogi*. There has been a controversy over the date of Shankara, but the discovery of an inscription of one of his direct disciples called Shivasoma in Cambodia (Kamboja) dated 880, has laid all controversies to rest. *Shankara* is believed to have lived only for 32 years, till 820. The tradition holds Shankara as the incarnation of Shiva. It is stated that one Kerala ruler offered the *sanyasin* the place of honour of the court scholar as he was extraordinarily intelligent and well-read even as a boy. But the young ascetic rejected the offer. *Shankara Vijayam* by Vidyaranya is one of the important sources on his life.

Shankara travelled in India far and wide and it is believed that he had gone to Cambodia too. He is credited with the founding of the four monasteries at Dwarka, Badri, Puri and Shringeri. He had also visited Kashmir and Kanchi. During his sojourn in Kashmir, he wrote commentaries on the *Vedanta Sutras*. Many scholars and religious leaders came to be defeated by him in disputations during his travels all over India. Mandana Mishra of Mahishmati and his wife are believed to be the two notable persons among such scholars.

Together with his writing commentaries on *Vedanta* or *Brahma Sutras* he also wrote a commentary on *Bhagavad Gita* popularly known as *Shankarabhashya*. *Dakshinamurthy Stotra*, *Ananda Lahari*, *Viveka Chudamani*, *Prabuddha Sudhakara*, *Soundarya Lahari* etc., are his other important works. He has composed many devotional poems in simple Sanskrit, and '*Bhajagovindam*', is one such poem, sung by every orthodox Hindu.

The paths of *Jnana* (knowledge) and *Bhakti* (devotion), the alternatives for attaining the *Brahman* or Reality, are attempted to be combined by Shankara. The abstract and the concrete are harmonised in his teachings. "Though he is primarily known as the greatest exponent of *Advaita Vedanta*, Shankara was nevertheless the Acharya *par excellence* who cleansed the Hindu faiths of excrescences that had gathered round them due to accidents of history, and taught each aspirant to follow the way suited to him", says Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan.

He was able to bring into actuality the *Advaita* Doctrine which is one of the greatest solutions for the problems of human life. "Whether the doctrine is held by others or not, there is no doubt that the intellectual and spiritual achievements of Shankara have made a deep impression on the history of world thought", says Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar.

According to his philosophy of Monism or *Advaita*, the *Brahman* alone is real and the self; the visible universe is only

an illusion of *Maya*. This has been summed up as "*Brahma Satya, Jaganmithya*". The Ultimate Reality or the Brahman is without any qualities or attributes by which It can be described i.e., It is *Nirguna* and *Nirakara*. The Brahman alone has existence, and this universe is one and the same as the Brahman. The individual soul has no independent existence, and it is part of the Brahman. He summarised his statements by saying "I am Brahman" (*Aham Brahmasmi*).

Every individual has to realise this fact only by individual *sadhana* or effort. Shankara said that one can follow any path, *Jnana* or *Bhakti* for the realization of the Reality. Every faith and religion could be accommodated with his philosophy. Morality and due discharge of one's duty to society were stressed by him. He stressed detached service to humanity. *Sanyasa* was not considered as an escape from one's responsibilities.

Worship of any one deity was not stressed, though he was a Shaiva by birth. The collective worship of Shiva, Vishnu, Surya, Ganesha, Kumara and Shakti was propounded. He is therefore called *Shanmata Sthapanacharya* or founder of six religions. He campaigned against many evil customs, and sublimated others.

He was responsible for turning the tide of Buddhism in favour of the *Vedantic* religion. So strong were his arguments in favour of *Vedanta* that the leaders of the other established sects also began to use them to uphold their respective creeds. He made use of the *Maya* Doctrine of the Buddhists, and was therefore criticised as a Buddhist *in cognito* (*Prachchhanna Buddha*).

The stability of Hinduism is in no small way due to Shankara, because he reconciled all their aspects of the religion in his teachings. The synthesis he achieved made the religion all-embracing. Conflicting faiths like Shaivism, Vaishnavism or the Shakta cult were brought together by his reconciliation. It is in his tradition that great teachers like Vidyaranya appeared in Karnataka. The Shringeri, Kudali, Shivalanga, Aveni and

Sankeshvar are some of the important *mathas* belonging to his tradition.

Ramanuja (1017-1037): If Shankara taught Monism, Ramanuja taught Qualified Monism or *Vishishtadwaita*. Born at Shriperambudur, a village near Madras in 1017, Ramanuja is described as the incarnation of Adishesha. He was a *grihastha*, having been married at the age of 16, and he studied the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* under Yadavaprakasha, a great *Advaita* teacher from Kanchi, a great centre of learning in the South. Later he disagreed with the views of his teacher, and continued self-study. The noted Vaishnava saint and the head of the Srirangam Matha, Yamuna heard of the scholarly attainments of Ramanuja and the saintly life he led. He wanted Ramanuja to be his successor in the Matha, and sent one of his disciples, Mahapurna to Kanchi. Mahapurna initiated Ramanuja to Shrivaisnavism. Later Ramanuja renounced worldly life, became a *sanyasi*, and succeeded to the seat of Yamuna, after the latter's death. It was during this time that Ramanuja wrote, *Shribhashya*, rejecting *Adwaita Siddhanta*. He upheld the worship of *Sakara* Brahma or God with many attributes. He also propounded *Bhaktimarga*. He condemned Shankaracharya as a *Prachchanna Bauddha* or a Buddhist in disguise. Ramanuja toured the whole country, and visited Kashi and Kashmir. It is believed that he came to be persecuted by the Chola monarch, who was a Shaiva, and Ramanuja came to Karnataka in 1096, and lived here till 1116. It is believed that at this time he cured a Hoysala princess of her mental malady, and this resulted in the conversion of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana to Shrivaisnavism. This helped the popularisation of the religion in Karnataka. The Master stayed at Tondanur for long, and later he went to Melukote, where the Cheluvanarayana Temple was founded.

Ramanuja even initiated the so-called untouchables into his cult, and permitted them to visit the temples on certain days in a year. Amidst orthodoxy, this was a beginning in the

direction of their emancipation. It is believed that he lived for 120 years, till 1137.

The *Prasthanathraya*—the triple canon—namely *Upanishads*, *Brahmasuthras* and *Bhagavad Gita* are the basis of his teachings. Together with these go the teachings of the Alwars of Tamilnadu and the *Agamas* known as *Pancharathra*.

According to the *Vishishtadwaita* philosophy of Ramanuja Vishnu is the deity of supreme worship, accompanied by Shri or Lakshmi, who represents divine grace. That is why the religion is called *Shrivaishnavism*. Lakshmi is considered the mediator between man and God. God is *Saguna Ishwara* or the Master with attributes, and He is *Parama Purusha* or the Highest Individual. Humans derive their reality from God. Every individual should try to secure *Sarupya* or similarity with God. *Moksha* is a state of fellowship with Him. Ramanuja taught Qualified Monism. He stressed *Bhakthimarga*.

Some of the Hoysala rulers beginning with Vishnuvardhana, the Saluvas, Tuluvas and the Aravidus of Vijayanagara, and the Mysore rulers were all followers of this religion.

Many Vaishnava temples like the one at Belur or Talakadu were creations of this cult. The Parakalamatha at Mysore is a very important monastery of the cult. In the court of Mysore, scholars like Tirumalarya, Singararya and Sanchi Honnamma wrote many Vaishnavite works in Kannada upholding the teachings of Ramanuja. The Mysore ruler Chikkadevaraya himself wrote many works, of which *Chikkadevaraya Binnapam* in praise of Melukote Cheluvanarayana is the most celebrated. Noted Kannada poet Lakshmisha was also a Shrivaishnava.

Ramanuja's followers are not confined only to the brahmin caste. Shrivaishnava religion is popular even among the agriculturists and the people of the so-called lower castes.

Basaveshwara (? — 1168): Basaveshwara was a great religious leader, born in Karnataka. Though Virashaiva tradition claims that the five *Acharyas*, Renuka, Daruka, Ekorama,

Panditharadhya and Vishwaradhya founded the sect, the movement had its virtual founder in Basava, an officer of Kalachuri Bijjala of Kalyana.

Harihara's *Basavarajadevara Ragale* and Bhimakavi's *Basavapurana* (both in Kannada) give us details about the life of Basaveshwara. Basava was born at Bagewadi in Bijapur District, of brahmin parents called Madarasa and Madalambike. His father was the chief of the assembly of the mahajanas of Bagewadi and was a great scholar. Basava studied Sanskrit and Kannada as a boy. After his thread ceremony (*upanayana*) he discarded the sacred thread, and went to Kudala Sangama and spent a long period there under the guidance of an ascetic called Ishanyaguru. "Basava's stay in this sacred resort immensely benefited him; his vision widened, his horizon of knowledge expanded; he had glimpses of his life's mission", says Dr. Desai.

Later Basava went to Mangalawada and took service in the treasury of Bijjala. He married the daughter of Baladeva Mantri, the Minister of Bijjala. Basava soon rose to the position of the chief treasurer with the status of a *dandanatha*. *Puranas* call him a minister, and being the chief treasurer, he must have been a member of the ministerial council of Bijjala.

It was at this time that Basava started his religious movement, and gathered round him a large group of followers who were devoted to Shiva. When Bijjala, who was till then a feudatory, usurped imperial power and shifted his headquarters to Kalyana, Basava and his entourage also shifted the venue of their activity to the great imperial city. 'Anubhava Mantapa', a great centre of religious discussions, was founded at Kalyana, where Basava, Allama, Mahadevi Akka, Madivala Machayya and a host of other *sharanas* that had come to the capital city from far and near hearing the fame of Basava, gave expression to their mystic experiences. The devotees or *sharanas*, who assembled round Basava, were treated as equal to one another, and no distinctions of caste, creed, sex and status were taken into account.

His unorthodox ways and views, and his movement gaining popularity angered some orthodox people, and they poisoned the mind of Bijjala against the royal treasurer. Basava supporting the marriage of two children of the *sharanas*, belonging to two different castes (one a brahmin and the other a cobbler) highly angered the emperor, who ordered the beheading of the two *sharanas*, the marriage of whose children had been consecrated. This caused deep sorrow to Basava, and he left the capital and reached Kudala Sangama, where he is believed to have merged with God Kudala Sangama. This was in 1168.

There was a commotion at Kalyana and Bijjala was murdered. All Virashivas were forced to leave Kalyana after this event. The teachings of Basava, Allama, Chennabasava (Basava's nephew) and others had already spread the new gospel far and wide. But after the commotion at Kalyana, the new religion saw a setback. But it became popular again in the days of Vijayanagara when it witnessed a renaissance. Tontada Siddhalinga Yati and many other missionaries collected the *vachanas*, or sayings of the *sharanas* and edited them. There were great poets like Gubbi Mallanarya, Chamarasa, Lakkana Dandesha and Jakkana in the days of the empire. (The last two were imperial commanders). It is believed by some that the last rulers of the Sangama dynasty, beginning with Devaraya II were Veerashaivas. Later the Keladi Nayakas also highly patronised Veerashaivism, as they were themselves followers of the cult. The religion also spread to Andhra and Maharashtra.

Basava taught absolute devotion to Shiva, and stressed a life of morality. One of his *vachanas* runs as follows: 'Steal not, Kill not, Speak not the untruth, Do not get infuriated, Do not despise others, Do not be boastful, Let you not blame others to their face'. He emphasised the dignity of labour, and this is clearly expressed in his saying "*Kayakave karlasa*" meaning "work is worship". His teachings were in simple Kannada which appealed to the common folk. Every Veera-

shaiva wears an *Ishtalinga* on his body. This has brought the religion the name, Lingayats. The philosophy underlying the religion is *Shakti Vishishtadwaita*. Elaborate rituals and sacrifices came to be condemned by Basava.

The impact of this religion on society has been great. They stressed non-taking of meat and liquors. Emancipation of women was stressed. Caste distinctions were discarded. Virashaiva monasteries, spread over the nooks and corners of Karnataka, became great centres of learning and education. Great Kannada poets like Raghavanka, Harlaha and Chamarasa were Veerashaivas. *Vachanasahithya*, the literature produced by the sharanas, is a great stream that has enriched Kannada literature. Veerashaivism is an important religion of Karnataka even today. It has its followers in Andhra and Maharashtra also.

Madhwacharya (1238-1317): Madhwa was born at Pajaka (Belle) near Udupi in 1238. *Madhwa Vijaya*, *Madhwa Charite* and *Manimanjari* are the three Sanskrit works which give us details of his life. An inscription in Chikmagalur District attests testimony to one of his miraculous acts. The tradition describes him as the incarnation of Vayu, and that in his previous births, he was born as Hanuman and Bhima. His parents named him as Vasudeva, and he studied the *Vedas* and *Upanishads* at the feet of Achyutapreksha, who initiated him to *sanyasa*. Vasudeva was known as Anandatirtha or Madhwacharya after this. Madhwa disagreed with the views of his teacher, who was an *Advaitin*, and when his teacher found that Madhwa was exploring fresh avenues of thought, he started appreciating his disciple's views. Madhwa defeated his own teacher in disputations. Madhwa toured the country twice, and visited Badari and Kashi and defeated many scholars in religious disputations. At Kalinga, he won over Narahari Teertha, the royal regent to his creed. Way back from Dwaraka, he brought two images, of Krishna and Balarama, and he installed them at Udupi and Vadabhandeshwara (Malpe) respectively.

He wrote 37 works in Sanskrit which include *Gita Bhashya*, *Gita Tatparya Nirnaya*, *Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya*, *Bhagavata Tatparya Nirnaya*, *Mayavada Khandana* and *Vishnu Tattwa Nirnaya*. He founded eight monasteries at Udupi in which his eight disciples were installed. They were to look after the worship and services of Shri Krishna of Udupi in regular turns, each for two months.

Madhwa upheld the principles of superiority of Vishnu and propounded the *Dvaita* philosophy or Dualism. He condemned the *Mayavada* of Shankara and held that the world is real, and not illusory. He maintained that there are distinctions between the Supreme Being or Paramatman and dependent principle of life. He recognised *panchabhedas* or five-fold distinctions. Paramatman is Independent (*swatantra*) and the world is dependent (*paratantra*) as it is the creation of Brahman. It is the Brahman who gives birth, life and position, destruction, knowledge, bondage and release, to the dependent. The *panchabhedas* are defined as, (1) distinction between God (*Paramatman*) and Man (*Jivatma*); (2) God and matter (*jada*); (3) between *Jivatma* and *jada*; (4) between one soul and the other; and (5) between one *jada* and the other. It is the recognition of these distinctions which has made his teachings to be called as *Dvaita* or Dualism (whereas Shankara considered the world as part of the Brahman, hence *Advaita*).

Though Madhwa considered Vishnu as *Servottama* (supreme), he did not oppose the worship of Shiva and other deities, as Ramanuja did. But They were considered as Gods of lower degree by Madhwa. *Bhaktimarga* was stressed. Individual soul can attain elevation (*athmonnathi*) by devotion.

His religious tradition was furthered by great saints like Akshobhyatirtha, Shripedaraya, Vadiresha and Raghavendra-swamy. Vyasateertha was closely associated with Krishna-devaraya of Vijayanagara, though the latter was a Shri-vaishnava. Saint-poets like Purandara, Kanaka, Jagannatha

Dasa and others not only enriched Kannada literature, but also propagated Vishnu *Bhakti* and a life of morality, in simple Kannada. Their writings in Kannada are called *Dasa Sahithya*. The Maadhwa religion is popular in Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Maharashtra even today. The eight *mathas* at Udupi, the Uttaradhi *Matha*, the Raghavendra *Matha* at Mantralaya and at Nanjanagudu etc., are great centres of this religion.



CHAPTER IX

THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

After the fall of the Karnataka's royal dynasties, the Hoysalas and the Saunas, and the other dynasties of South India like the Kakatiyas of Orangal and the Pandyas of Madurai, a sort of political vacuum was created in South India. The Vijayanagara Empire came into existence to fill this vacuum. It also played a historic role in protecting the Hindu religion and culture in South India. They had their capital at Vijayanagara (modern Hampi near Hospet in Bellary District).

The source material for the study of Vijayanagara history is ample. There are as many as 7000 inscriptions of the empire, scattered all over South India. Of these, almost half are in Kannada, and the rest are in Tamil, Telugu and Sanskrit. These are the most valuable and basic sources for the study of the Empire's history. Next to inscriptions are the accounts of foreign travellers including those from Portugal like Paes, Nuniz, Barbosa and Barradas. There were two Italians, Nicolo Conti and Caesar Fredericci, the latter having visited Hampi in 1587. Abdur Razzak was a Persian visitor. The Muslim writers have left valuable histories in the Persian Language. They include the writings of Barani, Isami, Tabataba, Nizam-ud-din Bakshi, Ferishta and Shirazi. Though these writers are partial towards their Muslim masters, they throw valuable light on developments in Vijayanagara. Of the literary sources, Sanskrit works are the most useful, and they include *Vidyaranya Kalajnana*, *Madhurayijeyam* by Gangambika, *Saluvabhyudeyam* by Rajanatha Dindima, *Ramabhyudeyam* of Saluva Nerasimha, *Achyutabhyudeyam* by Dindima II and *Varadambika Parinayam* by Tirumalamba. Of the Kannada sources, *Kumara Ramana Katha* by Nanjunda, *Mohanatherangini* by Kanakadasa and *Keledinripavijayam* of Linganna are the most

important. Among the Telugu works, Srinatha's *Kashikhandi*, *Varahapuranamu* by Mallayya and Singayya, *Rayavachakamu* by Vishvanatha Nayani, Nandi Timmana's *Perijathapaharanamu*, Kumara Dhurjati's *Krishnaraja Vijayamu*, Peddana's *Manucharitemu* and *Amuktamalyade* by Krishnadevaraya are the most useful works. Monuments at Hampi, Lepakshi, Tadapatri and other places are also useful sources of information. Gold and silver coins of Vijayanagara are available in abundance. Robert Sewell wrote on Vijayanagara (for the first time in 1901) *A Forgotten Empire*. But he could not make use of all these sources.

Origin : There are two theories regarding the origin of the Sangama Brothers, the founders of the Empire, namely the Telugu or Orangal origin theory and the Karnataka or Hoysala origin theory. Scholars like Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, B. Suryanarayana Rao and Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastry have supported the Telugu origin theory. Writings of the Muslim historians and certain Sanskrit works like *Vidyeranya Kalajnana* are held in support of the theory. According to them, Harihara and Bukka, the founders of the Empire, were officers at the court of Orangal. After the first fall of this Kakatiya capital, they fled and took service under the ruler of Kampila. When Kampila was attacked by the army of the Sultan of Delhi, they were taken captive by the army of the Sultan who had them converted to Islam. Later the Delhi Sultan appointed them governors over the southern provinces. In the South, they met Sage Vidyaranya and under his influence, were reconverted to Hinduism. They revolted against the Delhi Sultan and founded the new Hindu Empire of Vijayanagara.

This Telugu origin theory has no support from any contemporary records. The accounts of Muslim historians are neither unanimous nor reliable in this matter. It is also very difficult to believe that people who had apostatized to Islam could be reconverted to Hinduism when the rigid caste regulations of the medieval period are taken into account. It is all the more unbelievable that these persons, had they been

Muslims, could easily get the support of the Hindus when they wanted to found a Hindu Empire. This theory has been ably rejected by scholars like Father Heras, Dr. B. A. Saletore and Dr. P. B. Desai.

Father Heras has pointed out that Ballapa Dandanayaka, a nephew of Hoysala Ballala III, had married a daughter of Harihara, the founder of the Empire. This shows that Harihara was associated with the Hoysala court. Dr. Saletore has pointed out that Telugu writers like Vallabharaya and Shrinatha have called the princes of the Sangama family as *Karnata Kshitinatha*, indicating that they were a Kannada family. He has also said that Harihara II is called in one of his records as "a lion to the scent-elephant the Andhra king". This demonstrates their "anti-Telugu propensity" and clearly indicates that they were not from a Telugu region.

The Sangama brothers had great devotion for the Karnataka deities like Virupaksha of Hampi or Keshava of Beluru. This also indicates that they originated from the Kannada country. They signed even their Sanskrit records in Kannada letters as "Shrivirupaksha". Many of their titles were in Kannada language and were used in the same form even in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu records. These titles were "Bhashegetappuvarayaraganda", "Moorurayaraganda", "Arirayadatta" and so on.

Dr. Desai quotes Ferishta who has called the emperors as "Rois of Karnatic". On the whole, it can be concluded that the documents on which the Telugu origin theory is based are unreliable and the founders of the empire were originally from the Hoysala dominion. There is a strong tradition, expressed in works like *Chikkadevaraya Vamshavali* etc., that they belonged to Kuruba caste.

Harihara, Bukka, Kampana, Marappa and Muddappa were sons of Sangama, and they founded the Empire in 1336. Those were the days when the Hoysala kingdom was getting weaker. It looks that Harihara had been appointed by Ballala III to administer the northern provinces of his kingdom with auto-

nomous powers and Harihara became the sovereign master of the territory after the death of Ballala III in 1343.

Vidyaranya : Tradition holds that Vidyaranya, the head of the Shringeri monastery, helped them in founding the Empire. But this statement has been disputed by some scholars.

The role of Vidyaranya in founding the Empire and his identification are issues over which controversies have been going on. Vidyaranya, no doubt, was not the head of the Shringeri monastery at the time of the founding of the Empire and he occupied the Shringeri Pitha only in 1380. But it looks that he was a prominent *sanyasi* much earlier, and he must have helped the founding of the Empire by securing financial aid for Harihara. He was the head of the Shringeri Matha between 1380 and 1386. There is a tradition according to which Vidyaranya was known as Madhavacharya before his *sanyasa*. This had led scholars to argue that he was the celebrated Madhava Mantrin of the Angirasa *gotra*, ruling over the Male and the coastal region. But we know that this Madhava Mantrin ruled till 1391 and Vidyaranya died in 1386. Another set of scholars considers Vidyaranya as the brother of Sayana, and of Bharadvaja *gotra*. But this Madhava was a minister and was married, according to the testimony of *Guruvamshakavya*. A record from Hampi also calls Madhava and Sayana as ministers. Thus Bharadvaja Madhava cannot be identified with Vidyaranya. A third set of scholars try to identify Vidyaranya with Kriyashakti Guru, the noted Kalamukha teacher. But this identification is also not easily acceptable because it is known from other sources that Kriyashakti died in 1388 and outlived Vidyaranya who died in 1386. And one cannot expect a Kalamukha teacher to become the head of the Advaita Matha of Shringeri. Thus the identification of Vidyaranya is a vexed question. Of late there has been a fresh effort to identify Vidyaranya with Kriyashakti, and it is argued that he was not a Kalamukha.

The Shringeri Matha was held in high reverence by the Vijayanagara emperors and this indicates that Vidyaranya had something to do with the founding of the Empire. While Vidyaranya was studying at Kashi in 1356, Emperor Bukka addressed him a letter, requesting him to return to Vijayanagara. The Shringeri Matha received many grants from the empire. Sage Vidyaranya appears to have secured financial help to Harihara, using his influence as a religious leader with the rich people, while Harihara founded the Empire in 1336. This fact has been preserved in the tradition that Vidyaranya caused a shower of gold to help founding of the Empire.

Harihara I (1336-56) : Harihara was the son of Sangama, who was perhaps the commander of the Hoysalas. Harihara had four other brothers, namely Bukka, Kampana, Muddappa and Marappa. Harihara's relations with the Hoysala family have been already noted. Ballappa Dandanayaka, a nephew of Ballala III, was the son-in-law of Harihara. Harihara built the fort at Barakuru on the West Coast in 1336. He was administering the northern parts of Karnataka from Gutti in Anantpur District in 1339. He was responsible for the building of the Badami fort in 1340. He succeeded in having control over the northern parts of the Hoysala kingdom from the West Coast to the East. He assumed the title 'Purvapaschima Samudradhishvara' or the 'Master of the Eastern and the Western Oceans'. 'Arirayavibhada' ('submarine fire to enemy kings') and 'Bhashegetappuvarayaraganda' ('Punisher of the rulers who fail to keep their promise') were his other titles. After the death of Ballala III (1343), Harihara appears to have started his rule with sovereign powers. He came to control the most of the territory to the South of the Tungabhadra. In the year 1346 he, with his four brothers, made a grant to Bharati Tirtha, at Shringeri. He appointed his younger brother Kampana governor over the Nellur region. Bukka was joint ruler with him from as early as in 1345. Marappa ruled over Malerajya from Chandragutti. Muddappa was administering the Mulabagalu region.

Harihara came into conflict with the Bahmani kingdom which was founded in 1347. This checked Harihara's northward expansion. Harihara not only founded a new empire, but organised a good administrative machinery in the newly conquered territories. The appointment of his brothers as viceroys over various regions helped the centralisation of administration. Undoubtedly Harihara was an able conqueror and he had all the great qualities necessary for the founder of a new empire. He was childless and was succeeded by his brother Bukka in 1356.

Bukka I (1356-77): To Bukka goes the credit of destroying all hostile powers in the South. He wiped out the kingdom of Shambhuvaraya ruling from the Arcot region in 1360 and conquered his territory. The Reddis of Kondavidu also came to be defeated and the region round Penukonda conquered. The Sultanate of Madhurai founded after the fall of the Pandyas was also ended by 1371. Ballala III had carried a long struggle against the Sultanate and died in 1343, during a war against Madhurai. Destruction of the Madhurai Sultanate was an achievement of Kumara Kampana, son of Bukka, and this victory of the prince has been described in *Madhuravijayam*. The authoress, Gangambika, was the wife of Kumara Kampana.

There was a war between the Bahmanis and Vijayanagara regarding the mastery over the Krishna—Tungabhadra Doab region. Bukka had an upper hand in this war. Goa was under his control. The rulers of Malabar and Ceylon paid tribute to him. He had sent an embassy to the court of the Mings, the emperors of China in 1374.

Bukka completed the work started by Harihara and Vijayanagara became the unquestioned power over the whole region to the South of the Tungabhadra. Under Bukka was begun the work of writing the commentary on the Vedas, known as *Vedarthaprakasha*. Hundreds of scholars under the able

guidance of the celebrated savants, Madhava and Sayana, did the work. Telugu poet Nachana Soma was patronised by Bukka. A notable event of his reign was his settlement of a dispute between Shrivaisnavas and Jainas. The former were persecuting the latter and Bukka called the leaders of both the communities and got an assurance from Shrivaisnavas that they would protect the Jainas who were in a minority.

Bukka's son Kampana predeceased Bukka. Bukka's another son, Harihara II, succeeded his father to the throne in 1377.

Harihara II (1377-1404) took advantage of the death of Mujahid Bahmani in 1378, and extended his dominions in Konkana beyond Goa to Chaul. In Andhra he occupied the fort of Udayagiri and captured Pangal to the North of the Krishna from the Velamas. He even defeated the Bahmanis who had helped the Velamas. The work of writing commentaries on the Vedas was completed in the days of Harihara II, and he assumed the title *Vaidikamarga Sthapanacharya*.

He was succeeded by his son Virupaksha I, who ruled for only a few months, followed by his another son Bukka II (1405-06), and finally by the third son, Devaraya I (1406-22). Devaraya I extended his dominions in the North-East, and the hereditary rivalry between the Gajapatis of Kalinga (Orissa) and the empire began in his days. Ferishta narrates a story of the emperor falling in love with the daughter of a goldsmith from Mudugal and this affair leading to a war between Devaraya I and the Bahmanis. Devaraya I was worsted in the war, and was forced to marry his daughter to the Bahamani prince, says he. But no other contemporary account speaks of this victory and the marriage, and this story has been found to be not true. In fact he foiled the efforts of Firuz Bahmani to conquer the Pangal Fort and this defeat caused the death in distress of the Sultan. Nicolo Conti, an Italian, visited Vijayanagara during the days of Devaraya I, and he says that the imperial capital had a circumference of 60 miles.

Devaraya was succeeded by Ramachandra (1422), his son, who was soon overthrown by Devaraya's another son, Vijayaraya (1422-24). Vijayaraya's son Devaraya II succeed his father in 1424, and he is the greatest monarch of the Sangama family.

Devaraya II (1424-46) : Also known as Praudha Deva-
raya, Devaraya II had the title "Gajaventekara" as he was
well-versed in the art of elephant hunt.

He was looking after the administration as the crown prince in the days of his father, and defeated the Bahmanis in c. 1423. The Bahmani capital was shifted to Bidar after this defeat.

In the East, Devaraya fought three wars against the Gajapatis. He drove back Gajapati Bhanudeva who tried to capture Kondavidu in 1427. The efforts of Gajapati Kapilendra to conquer Rajamahendri in 1436 was also foiled. A third invasion of Vijayanagara territories by the Kalinga rulers in about 1441 was also repulsed.

In his wars with the Bahmanis (1435-36), he is stated to have lost Mudugal Fort. But a record of 1436 at Mudugal testifies that the fort continued in the hands of Devaraya II. In a second war of 1443, certain territories in the Doab region were lost by the empire. They were the days of certain disturbing events in the imperial capital, when a brother of Devaraya II had tried to assassinate him, and the emperor had been severely wounded.

Southern parts of Kerala, around Quilon, were included in the empire in the days of Devaraya II, and his trusted commander, Lakkanna, invaded Ceylon and collected rich tribute from the ruler of the island. The ruler of Calicut, the Zamorin, also feared Devaraya II. The emperor collected tribute from the kings of Burma, ruling in Pegu and Tanasserin.

Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador, visited Vijayanagara in 1443. The visitor was stunned by the glory and

grandeur of the empire. "The city of Bidjangar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other", says he. The troops of the Raya amounted lakhs, according to his reports, and he adds that there was no king more powerful than him in the whole of Hindustan.

Devaraya was not only a valiant warrior and able administrator, but also a great scholar and patron of men of letters. He himself wrote a Sanskrit work, *Mahanataka Sudhanidhi*. Gunda Dindima, a Sanskrit poet and Shrinatha, the Telugu scholar, were in his court. The latter was honoured by performing *kanakabhisheka* (showering of gold coins on his head) by the Emperor. His commander Lakkanna was a writer in Kannada.

Devaraya was followed by two weak and vicious rulers, during whose period the empire shrank in size. Devaraya's son Mallikarjuna (1446-65) also known as Devaraya III could not resist the Gajapatis and lost Rajamahendri in 1454 to them. The Bahmanis too came as far as the imperial capital in 1450. The Gajapatis captured Udayagiri and Chandragiri in 1463, and marched in the South upto the Kaveri. These disasters caused the dethronement of Mallikarjuna by Virupaksha, son of his uncle (brother of Devaraya II) Pratapadevaraya, in 1465.

But Virupaksha proved himself to be in no way better than Mallikarjuna. Mahamud Gavan, the Bahmani minister, wrested the whole of the Konkana coast including Goa from the empire in 1470, and the empire further shrank in size. The tributaries and officials of the empire started disobeying its authority. Virupaksha's own son killed him in 1485, and the empire passed into the hands of his another son, Praudharaya. But this young emperor also did not succeed in salvaging the empire from misfortunes. After a short rule, he was driven out of the capital by Saluva Narasimha, an able general of the empire, who ended the rule of the Sangama dynasty (1485).

Saluva Narasimha (1485-91): To Saluva Narasimha goes the credit of having saved the empire from the critical situation. He was a commander of the empire and was the son of Saluva Gunda, the governor of Chandragiri. After the death of Mallikarjuna, Narasimha tried to consolidate his power in the South and conquered Udayagiri (1469) and Kondavidu (1480) from the Gajapatis. He sent his commander Tuluva Ishvara to the Kannada region and the latter captured Nagamangala, Bangalore and Shrirangapattana for his master. After the death of Virupaksha (1485), he sent Tuluva Narasa Nayaka, son of Ishvara to the imperial capital. Emperor Prataparaya fled from the city and Narasimha became the Emperor in 1485.

He ruled for a short period of only six years. But he strove to restore the empire to its past glory. But he did not completely succeed in his efforts. Gajapati Kapilendra conquered Udayagiri in 1491. There were revolts in various parts of the empire soon after his succession. He had to undertake a long war against the Uammattur chief in the Mysore region and many Jaina princes on the West Coast, who included the Santharas of Karkala and the Saluvas of Haduvalli.

He organised his army by improving his cavalry. He befriended the Arabs and bought the best horses from them.

Saluva Narasimha was a scholar and writer in Sanskrit (work *Ramabhyudayam*) and was a close devotee of the Maadhva Saint, Shripadaraya. He died in 1491, leaving his two sons under the guardianship of his trusted commander, Tuluva Narasa Nayaka.

The successor of Saluva Narasimha, Prince Timma was murdered by an army commander. The second son of Narasimha, Saluva Narasimha II, was crowned by Narasa Nayaka. But this prince was the emperor only in name, and the power lay in the hands of Narasa Nayaka himself. Narasa Nayaka had to face opposition from all sides. But he succeeded

in keeping the ruler of Bijapur at bay and pushing the invasion of the Gajapatis back. He succeeded in suppressing many rebellious chiefs.

After his death in 1503, his first son Tuluva Narasimha succeeded him. Saluva Narasimha II, the young prince, was murdered at Penukonda (in c. 1505) where he had been subjected to confinement by Narasa Nayaka. Tuluva Narasimha, also known as Bhujabalaraya had to counteract the incursions of the Bijapur ruler who wanted to capture Adavani and Karnul. Narasimha, with the help of Aravidu Timma succeeded in repulsing the enemy. He courted the friendship of the Portuguese who had reached the Indian coast in 1498. Much of his time was spent in meeting the rebellious chiefs. He died in 1509 and was succeeded by his step-brother Krishna-devaraya.

Krishnadevaraya (1509-1529): Krishnadevaraya the most able among the emperors of Vijayanagara, has been called the 'greatest among the rulers of South India'. He was an able administrator, valiant conqueror, great scholar and religious-minded monarch. He patronised literature and arts.

Soon after his coming to the throne, Krishnadevaraya had to face the Gajapati whom he defeated in 1509. Next he faced the joint armies of the Bahmani Sultan and the Adilshah of Bijapur. Krishnadevaraya defeated the combined armies at Doni and pursued them upto Kovilakonda where they were again defeated. His coronation took place in January 1510, which was followed by another encounter with Bijapur in which Yusuf Adilshah was killed. Conquest of Shivanasamudra, after defeating the chief of Ummattur who was in revolt for long, was his next achievement (1512). The same year, he reconquered Raichur which was in the hands of Bijapur for nearly 20 years. Mangalore was also reduced in c. 1512, after a long period of insubordination.

The emperor turned his attention to the East and conquered the fort of Udayagiri from the Gajapati in 1513, after a long

siege. This major success was followed by his conquest of the forts of Kandukur, Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Nagarjunakonda and Ketavaram. Next, he laid siege to Kondavidu and subjugated it in June, 1515. After this Bejavada and Kondapalli came to be captured. He also subdued Telangana after this. Next he conquered Rajamahendri and proceeded as far as Simhachalam. He established a pillar of victory at Potnur. Finally he invested Cuttak, the capital of the Gajapatis and Gajapati Prataparudra was forced to sue for peace in 1518. The Gajapati gave his daughter, Tukkadevi or Jaganmohini, in marriage to Krishnadevaraya.

During his absence in Orissa, the ruler of Golkonda, Qutb Shah laid siege to Kondavidu. Krishnadevaraya, on his way back, defeated the Golkonda army and took its commander captive. The Adilshah made an effort to capture Raichur. The Raya pursued the Bijapur army and defeated them at Kembavi and Surapur. Later, the fort of Raichur fell in the hands of Bijapur in 1522. It was reconquered, and the Vijayanagara army entered Bijapur victorious and camped there for four days (from 19th March, 1522). The emperor marched on Gulbarga after this and freed the Bahmani Sultan who had been imprisoned by his own subordinates. Krishnadevaraya crowned the Bahmani Sultan at Gulbarga, and assumed the title, "Establisher of the Yavana Kingdom". He returned to the capital in 1523 and ruled peacefully after this. The Ramaswami Temple at Vijayanagara came to be expanded by him. He added a Kalyanamantapa to the Virupaksha Temple and erected a tower there. He also constructed the Krishnaswamy and Vithalaswami Temples in the imperial capital. The colossal Lakshminarasimha statue in the capital is also a creation of his.

He had helped the Portuguese to conquer Goa from Bijapur in 1510. He maintained friendly relations with them. Portuguese travellers, Barbosa and Paes had visited his court and have left graphic descriptions about his court and personality. Paes calls him 'A great ruler and a man of much justice'.

The emperor was himself a scholar and wrote the Telugu work *Amuktamalyada* and a Sanskrit play, *Jambavati Kalyana*. He had in his court eight great scholars in Telugu, known as *ashtadiggajas*. They included Peddanna, Tennali Ramakrishna and Kumara Dhurjati. Kannada poet, Timmanna was honoured by the emperor. Krishnadevaraya was a devotee of the Meadha saint Vyasatirtha. His period was marked by all-round cultural activity. He had a great minister, Saluva Timma. Tirumalamba, Chinnadevi and Jaganmohini were his chief queens.

In the days of Krishnadevaraya, the empire expanded in the East and the North. He patronised all religious sects. He took steps to improve agriculture by providing irrigational facilities. His friendly relations with the Portuguese helped the expansion of the overseas trade of the empire. It brought in its train a large income to the state exchequer. His rule is a glorious chapter in the history of South India.

Krishnadevaraya was succeeded by his step-brother Achyuta whose rule was a period of foreign invasions and internal strifes. Taking advantage of the internal strife in the empire, the Adilshah, had conquered Raichur; but Achyuta reconquered the fort in 1535. He also suppressed the rebellion that had broken out in Travancore. Nuniz, who visited the empire during his days, has called the emperor a liar and a coward. But this statement is incorrect. In fact, Achyuta was an able ruler, faced with adverse circumstances. *Achyutabhyudayam* and *Varadambikaparinayam* are two Sanskrit poems which depict his life and times.

After the death of Achyuta in 1542, his young son Venkata succeeded him. Achyuta's brother-in-law, Salaka Timmaraju assumed regency and tried to usurp power. He even killed his nephew, Prince Venkata. Aravidu Ramaraya popularly known as *Aliya* Ramaraya put forth the claims of Sadashivaraya, son of Ranga, Achyuta's brother. Sadashiva ascended the throne in 1543 with the help of Ramaraya. But Sadashiva was king only in name and Ramaraya became the *de facto* ruler.

Ramaraya : Son of Aravidu Ranga, a commander under the Tuluva rulers, Ramaraya became a powerful commander in the days of Krishnadevaraya. He and his brother Tirumala had married daughters of Krishnadevaraya and were popularly known as *Aliya* Ramaraya and *Aliya* Tirumala. They had a third brother called Venkatadri. The Aravidu Brothers rose to great eminence in the days of Krishnadevaraya. After the death of Krishnadevaraya, Ramaraya tried to secure power, but later he supported the cause of Achyuta. After the death of Achyuta, he espoused the cause of Sadashiva, and became the virtual ruler. Initially he ruled in the name of Sadashiva, calling himself the regent, and when Sadashiva came of age and tried to assert himself, Ramaraya made the emperor a virtual prisoner.

Ramaraya was an able commander, good administrator and a tactful diplomat. But he was over-confident about his capacities, which no doubt were great. He removed from power many imperial officials who were loyal to the empire, but were opposed to him personally. This act in a way weakened the empire. He newly appointed two brothers, Gilanis, as army commanders and bestowed great confidence in them, though they were strangers and had been actually dismissed from the Adilshahi service.

The Shahis of the Deccan invited Ramaraya to interfere in their mutual squabbles. Ramaraya took full advantage of the situation and expanded the empire beyond the Krishna. It was with his help that Ibrahim Qutbshah ascended the throne of Golkonda. Ali Adilshah was showered with affection by Ramaraya and was accepted as an adopted son by him.

Ramaraya succeeded in suppressing the revolt in the Travancore and Chandragiri regions. The ruler of Kandy in Ceylon was made to pay tribute to Vijayanagara. He dealt with the Portuguese with harshness whenever it was necessary, and at one time he attacked their settlement at San Thome.

Ramaraya has been criticised for his interference in the affairs of the Shahi Sultans. But this criticism is baseless.

Like any wise diplomat, Ramaraya interfered in their affairs whenever he was called upon to do so. When the Nizamshah of Ahmednagar and the Qutbshah of Golkonda invited his help against the Adilshah of Bijapur, Ramaraya did go to the help of the former and secured the Raichur Doab. Later, in 1549, the Adilshah allied with the Baridshah of Bidar and declared war on Ahmednagar. Vijayanagara did go to the help of the latter on invitation and helped the Nizamshah to capture the fort of Kalyana. Ali Adilshah, who came to the throne in 1557, allied himself with Ramaraya as noted above, and with the help of Vijayanagara, invaded Ahmednagar. This was followed by a second war between Bijapur and Ahmednagar in 1563. The Nizamshah allied himself with the Qutbshah. Adilshah with the help of Ramaraya and the Baridshah, defeated the Nizamshah and the joint armies of the three powers devastated the Ahmednagar territory. The Nizamshah held Ramaraya responsible for his losses. He thought of wreaking vengeance upon Vijayanagara, and made an appeal in the name of religion to his co-religionist rulers. Hussain Nizamshah cultivated friendship with Ali Adil by marrying his daughter Chandbibī to the latter. They also won over the Baridshah and Qutbshah and formed a grand coalition against Vijayanagara. The joint army camped at Talikota in December 1564.

Some writers have criticised Ramaraya for the depredations his army is described to have committed in the Ahmednagar region. It is stated that his men molested women and committed sacrilege in mosques. To what extent the Vijayanagara army could have committed such offences when they were in the company of the other Muslim powers, is a point to be given thought to. Secondly, devastating the enemy territory was not unknown in those days. When one looks into the accounts given by Ferishta and other historians regarding the campaigns of the army of the Bahmani Sultan and the Adil Shah in the Vijayanagara territory and the account of their devastations, one will be stunned.

The Great Battle (1565): Aged and over-confident, Ramaraya lead the army personally, and a pitched battle was fought on the banks of the Krishna in between the villages in modern Bijapur District, Rakkasagi and Tangadigi (that is why it is known as the Battle of Rakkas-Tangadi. Prof. Shervani argues that it was fought at Bannihatti). It looked as if Vijayanagar was going to win the day. A sudden sally from the enemy camp resulted in Ramaraya being taken prisoner and killed. The death of the leader created panic in the Vijayanagara army and it fled in all directions. Tirumala, Ramaraya's brother, hurried back to capital and with vast treasures and Emperor Sadashiva, marched towards Penukonda where he took shelter. The enemy forces entered the capital and plundered it for many months. The great city of Vijayanagara was ransacked.

Caesar Frenderici, an Italian, who visited the city in 1567 says that the town had become desolate and buildings in it had become hide-outs for wild animals. Robert Sewell describes the fate of the city in following words: "Never perhaps in the history of the world has such an havoc been wrought, so suddenly, on so splendid a city; teeming with a wealthy and industrious population in the full plenitude of prosperity one day, and on the next seized, pillaged, and reduced to ruins, amid scenes of savage massacre and horrors begging description".

The Battle of Rakkasa-Tangadi (1565) was a decisive war and one of the major political events in the history of South India. It witnessed the breaking up of the Vijayanagara empire and setting in of political disintegration of South India. Though the empire continued its existence in the southern parts, it was no longer the political force that it had been. The Shabs of Golkonda and Bijapur overran its northern territories, and its feudatories like those of Keladi and Mysore in Karnataka, and the Nayakas of Tanjore, Madhurai and Jinji in Tamilnadu became overbearing after the fall of the capital

city. Karnataka lost its political unity for a period of almost four centuries after this fatal event.

Historians have given various causes for the eventful war. Many have alleged that the atrocities committed by the Vijayanagara army in the Nizamshahi kingdom were responsible for the war. Such a statement need not be taken seriously as Ramaraya was not an anti-Muslim ruler and his army could not have committed any activity sacrilegious to Islam when it was in the company of the army of Bijapur and Bidar. In fact, it was the traditional rivalry between Vijayanagara and the Bahmanis, from whom the Shahi kingdoms had inherited it, which was responsible for the hatred between the two parties.

Some other scholars have criticised Ramaraya for his interference in the affairs of the Shahi kingdoms. They hold that it was his foreign policy which brought about unity among the Muslim powers. But Ramaraya framed his foreign policy as a wise diplomat. He did everything possible to maintain the balance of power in the Deccan. But for him, the weak Shahi states like Bidar would have been wiped out, being partitioned between Golkonda and Ahmednagar. It was in the interest of Vijayanagara that he had to interfere in the affairs of these kingdoms, so that none of them could be over powerful and upset the balance of power. The real cause of the confederacy of the Sultans against Vijayanagara was not the foreign policy of Ramaraya. It was in the first instance their fear, bitter jealousy and hatred of his paramount position for which they themselves had contributed; secondly, their religious animosity against the Hindu empire whose existence was like poison to them", says Dr. P. B. Desai.

Ramaraya no doubt behaved with arrogance while dealing with the Muslim princes and it might have created a feeling of antipathy towards him. But any strong and victorious soldier is bound to take such an attitude. In fact Krishnadevaraya himself had taken a similar attitude when he had humiliated the Adilshah. It appears that Krishnadevaraya had demanded

of the Adilshah that the latter should kiss his foot before he could have any negotiations with him. Thus Ramaraya alone cannot be accused of such an attitude. It was the traditional rivalry between the two political powers to which the religious difference added an edge, that caused the battle. Ramaraya was a tolerant ruler, and he had employed many Muslims as commanders and officials. He had helped Ibrahim Qutbshah to ascend the throne of Golkonda, and had given shelter to the prince for seven years at Vijayanagara before that. He had great affection for Ali Adilshah, as seen above.

Causes for defeat : It is necessary to analyse the causes for the defeat of the empire at the eventful battle. First of all, the army of Vijayanagara was not efficient, though it was strong numerically. It was not as modern and well-equipped as that of the adversaries. Ramaraya had stopped the buying of Persian horses for his army and his cavalry mostly consisted of short and weak country horses. The Vijayanagara cavalry was not that efficient and strong that it had been in the days of Krishnadevaraya. Whereas, the armies of the Sultans had a very strong cavalry full of robust Persian horses, moving quickly. Secondly the use of elephants on a large scale by Vijayanagara proved to be of great disadvantage. The elephants could not move quickly and in fact on the charge of artillery, they got wild and trampled their own men.

The armies of the Sultans were provided with cross bows made of metals ; thus the range of their arrows was longer than those of the Vijayanagara infantry, who had the ordinary bows of bamboo.

The Vijayanagara cavalry was equipped with the traditional javelins or swords. Their javelins were never longer than seven feet, whereas the enemy cavalry was equipped with spikes, as long as 15 to 16 feet. This provided a mounted soldier of the Sultans' armies a longer range than that of his enemy. It was such weapons that had even helped Alexander

The Sultans had equipped their armies with up-to-date artillery. They had employed gunmen from Turkestan, which was a leading power in the world in artillery warfare in those days. These gunmen managed the artillery with great efficiency and they were fired with religious favour, as they fought on the side of the Muslims. The artillery of Vijayanagara was neither strong nor up-to-date when compared to that of the enemy. It was manned by European mercenaries and Goan Christians. It was a major weakness of the Vijayanagara army.

The army of the empire was led by Ramaraya himself, who was old and over-confident. The other wings of the army were also led by his brothers, Tirumala and Venkatadri, who were also considerably old. The army of the Sultans had young, energetic generals.

After the death of Ramaraya and Venkatadri, Tirumala behaved like a coward. He could have resisted the enemy at least at the capital which had withstood many strong attacks early. But he ran away from the battle field and deserted the capital which was a detestable act.

Treachery was a major contributory factor for the defeat. Frederici informs us that the two Muslim commanders, who were brothers, deserted Ramaraya in the thick of the battle, causing confusion in the ranks of the Vijayanagara army. Anquetil du Perron, another foreign visitor also supports this statement. Scholars have identified these commanders as Gilani Brothers, who had been driven out from the Adilshahi service. It was wrong on the part of Ramaraya to have been generous towards these men from the enemy camp. He should not have entrusted them with such a responsible position. Each one of them had a command of 80,000. This treachery turned the tide against Vijayanagara.

The Aravidu Dynasty: Tirumala started ruling from the Penukonda after the fall of the city of Vijayanagara in 1565. He assumed the powers of Ramaraya, and Tuluvu

Sadashiva continued to be the emperor in name till 1570, when he was murdered. Tirumala was succeeded by his son, Sriranga, during whose period the empire further shrank. In 1586, Venkata II, the third son of Tirumala, came to the throne. He was an able ruler who consolidated the empire in Tamilnadu and in parts of Andhra. He shifted the capital to Chandragiri which he beautified. Efforts made to capture Penukonda, once by Bijapur and later by Golkonda, were foiled by him. He was childless, and had nominated his brother Rama's son Sriranga II to be his successor. This caused a civil war in which Sriranga II was imprisoned and killed. Echchmanayaka of the Velugoti family, a loyal commander of Venkata II, espoused the cause of Ramadeva, a son of Sriranga, and crowned him in 1617. During his rule the empire further shrank. After the death of Ramadeva in 1632, there was a civil war of succession again. Venkata III, a grandson of Ramaraya, became the king in 1632, and after his death in 1642, his nephew (brother's son) Sriranga III became the ruler. Velluru was the capital of the empire during this period. By about 1646, Sriranga III was driven out of his capital by the joint army of Bijapur and Golkonda. He became "an emperor without an empire". His own feudatories like the Nayakas of Madurai and Tanjore did not come to his help at this critical juncture. Thus the empire came to an end. The Nayaks of Keladi and the Odeyars of Mysore, two major feudatories of the empire became the successors of the empire in Karnataka and continued its traditions. But major parts of Karnataka were under the control of the Adil Shahs (and a small territory under the Barid Shahs of Bidar till 1619).

CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION

Administration : The Vijayanagara Empire had inherited the administrative traditions of the Hoysalas, Seunas, Kakatiyas and the Pandyas. They made use of the administrative institutions of old by introducing suitable changes according to the needs of the altered times. The administration of the

empire was organised to suit a war state. "Vijayanagara was essentially a military state. Its organisation reflected the primary purpose of maintaining successful resistance against the Muslims", says Dr. K. M. Panikkar.

The concept of Hindu kingship and state were very well understood and followed by the Vijayanagara emperors. Krishnadevaraya has said in his *Amuktamalyada* that the king is the most important element among the seven elements of the state and that the chief functions of the king was not of an absolute, autocratic ruler, for his powers were limited by customs and conventions. The emperor carried on the administration with the assistance and advice of ministers, the second *anga* of a state. The king had a number of ministers. The Prime Minister was called *mahapradhana* or *shirapradhana*. The prime minister and other ministers were army officials also and this is indicated by the epithet *dandanayaka* or *dandanatha* or *dannayaka*, applied to their names. Mudde Dandanayaka was *mahapradhana* under Bukka I and Harihara II and Saluva Timma under Krishnadevaraya.

The fact that the ministers were army commanders also justifies the statement that Vijayanagara was essentially a military state. (Like the Mughal Empire, where every civil servant was a military commander, holding a rank of *manseb*.) The ministers of Vijayanagara who were expected to be well-versed in the *Shastras*, were also military commanders.

Foreign visitors like Abdur Razzak and Nuniz have clearly indicated the existence of a secretariat. According to Abdur Razzak, there was a 40-pillared hall to the right side of the Emperor's place, which the visitor calls *diwankhana*. There, on a gallery, 30 yards long and six yards broad, records were kept and scribes were seated. Nuniz refers to the registers of the king's secretaries and he also states that the orders were authenticated by a seal impressed in wax from one of the rings of the king. Dr B. A. Saletore feels that the official called

aryakarta or "the agent for the affairs" might be the chief secretary, or a man who looked after the emperor's personal work. The secretaries were known by the word *rayasa*. Dr. Salletore says that *rayasaswami* was the word used for the chief secretary.

Land revenue was the chief source of state income. Revenue was assessed after deciding the gross product of a land. The state collected nearly one-half of the gross produce as the revenue. Boundaries of land were demarcated by stones called *vamenamudreyakallu*. Other sources of income were property taxes like tax on houses or shops, profession taxes, and customs duties which were collected at fairs and market places. An inscription from Beluru dated 1382 gives a long list of goods that were subject to customs at 26 established fairs of the empire.

The empire issued gold, silver and copper coins. The gold coin called *gadyana*, *varaha* or *honnu*, weighed 52 grains. A gold coin called *pratapa*, $\frac{1}{2}$ of *gadyana*, *hana* which weighed $\frac{1}{10}$ of a *gadyana*, *haga*, *visa* and *kasu* were coins of other denomination.

The army was of two types: the standing army directly recruited by the emperor and the feudal levy. According to Barbosa, the standing army of Krishnadevaraya consisted of 900 elephants, 20,000 horses and 1,00,000 infantry. The traveller perhaps refers to the imperial bodyguard only. Abdur Razzak states that the imperial army consisted of 11 lakhs men. Paes informs us that the empire could put into field two million soldiers. There was also an artillery division in the army. Existence of a navy is indicated by the mention of a word *navigadeprebhu* in one inscription.

Duarte Barbosa says that the kingdom of Narsyanga contained five large provinces, each with a language of its own. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam has listed as many as nine provinces. The provinces were called *rajyas* or *mandala*.

Their size also varied. Every *rajya* was ruled by a responsible official, at times by members of the royal family itself. Many times, these provincial governors held the posts hereditarily but were transferable. A *rajya* was further divided into *vishaya* or *venta*, also called as *kottam* in Tamilnadu. This was further divided into *sime* or *nadu* and that in turn into a *kampana* or *sthala*. The last unit consisted of a group of villages.

The hereditary princes who ruled over small territories were allowed to continue but only as subordinates of the empire. They include the Pandyas of Tamilnadu, the rulers of Tiruvadi (Travancore) and the Santharas of Karkala, to mention only a few. At times certain unruly or uncultivated regions were hereditarily assigned to a commander. The Nayaka kingdoms of Keladi and Madurai came into existence in this way.

The local assemblies which had existed from long continued to look after local matters whether social, administrative or judicial. Only in matters of special importance the imperial officials interfered. Villages had a *gauda* or headman, a *senabova* or *karanika* or *karnam* (accountant) and *kavelu* or *talara* (watchman). Important towns had an imperial official called *adhihari*. The village assembly of elders continued to function. They regulated public matters like maintenance of water sources, irrigational facilities and religious services at temples.

Religion and Society : The empire which had come into existence after the destructive campaigns of the Delhi Sultans, took upon itself the duty of protecting Hindu religion. 'Gobrahmana Pratipalanacharya' (Protector of cows and the seekers of truth), 'Hindurayasuratana', 'Vaidikamarga Samsthapanacharya' are some of the titles of the emperors, indicating the objectives of the empire. As true Hindus, the emperors protected and patronised all religions including Islam and Christianity. The members of the Sangama dynasty were the followers of a Shaiva sect. Kriyasakthi was the preceptor of Harihara and his brothers. Harihara had great

regard for the *Advaita* monastery of Shringeri for which the emperors made munificent grants. Though Shaivas, the founders of the empire had accepted Varaha or the Divine Boar as their royal insignia. To high offices in the empire were appointed men irrespective of their religion and caste. Irugappa Dandanayaka, an army commander under Bukka, was a Jaina. Lakkanna, the trusted general of Devaraya II, was a Veerashaiva. The rulers of the Tuluva dynasty were Shrivaisnavas. Still, Krishnadevaraya called himself "the worshipper of the lotus feet of Shrivirupaksha" and made generous grants to the temple of Virupaksha at Hampi. Krishnadevaraya was highly devoted to the Maadhwa saint, Vyasatirtha. Devaraya II built a mosque in the capital for his Muslims soldiers, as stated by Ferishta. Muslims came to be recruited on a large scale in the army from the days of Devaraya I. The Portuguese missionaries who had visited the court of Venkata II at Chandragiri were so well received by the emperor that they thought of the possibility of easily converting the emperor to Christianity. The policy of tolerance followed by the empire is testified by the statement of Barbosa: "the King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen".

The empire extended patronage to all religions by making munificent grants to places of worship of every religion including Shaivism, Virashivism, Jainism, Shrivaisnavism and the *Dvaita* school. Every existing temple came to be expanded, in addition to the building of new temples in the days of the empire. Temple of Ramasvami, Krishnasvami and Vithalasvami in the capital were constructions of the period. Similarly, the temples at Lepakshi, Tadapatra, the Kamakshi of Kanchi, and the thousand-pillared *besti* of Mudabidre were the creations of the time. The temple of Virupaksha was expanded by construction of a Kalyanamantapa and *gopura* or tower at the entrance. Similar towers came to be added to all important

temples in South India including those at Belur, Srisalim, Shrirangam, Kumbhakonam and so on. These towers are even today called *Rayagopuras*, as it was the Rayas of Vijayanagara who built them. Similarly, huge *kalyanamantapas* and *sabhamantapas* were added to all existing temples. Scholars and poets of all religions also came to be patronised by the empire.

The writing of the commentary on the Vedas by engaging many scholars is an achievement of the empire testifying the fulfilment of its aim of protecting and fostering the ancient Hindu traditions. Virashalva religion witnessed a renaissance in the days of the empire. The festivals like *dasara*, *deepavali* and *holi* came to be celebrated publicly in a magnificent way. Travellers have left accounts of the grandeur of the *dasara* celebrations in the capital. Great religious leaders like Vedantadeshika, Vyasatirtha, Kriyashakti, Tontadarya, Vidyanarya and Vadi Vidyananda lived in the days of the empire.

Society was divided into a number of castes and subcastes. Caste differences were rigid and the affairs of each caste were looked after by the elders of that caste in each locality. The state helped these elders to enforce caste regulations, as it had to follow *purvada maryade* or ancient regulations. Untouchability was in practice. But people of all castes were recruited in the army. Distinguishing oneself in military service helped men to rise in social hierarchy by acquiring wealth and administrative positions. This is true of the low castes too. In the local assembly of every place, leaders of all castes had representation. In the towns on the West Coast, the Muslims had their organisation called Hanjamana, whose representatives also sat in the town assemblies of those places.

Women, though confined to the homes and to attending of domestic duties, were also found performing many public functions. Women in South India had practically transgressed the limits which the law-givers had imposed on them, as regards activities not pertaining to domestic life. Their

traditions were maintained in Vijayanagara times", says Dr. B.A. Salatore. This statement is made because they engaged themselves in professions like clerks and guards in the palace. There were women wrestlers who gave public performances. Women also engaged themselves in trade. Though polygamy was prevalent, large sections of people were monogamous. The emperors married a number of queens and had a large seraglio. As a result of the patronage extended to dancing girls and encouragement given to 'devadasis', prostitution grew on a large scale in the empire. There were streets meant for prostitutes not only in the capital but in other towns too. Prostitutes were also taxed. Sati prevailed, but was not compulsory. Though women wore sarees and blouses, men donned themselves only in a lower garment. Stitched cloths like shirts were used, but not popularly. A tall cap called *kulevi*, made of silk was used by all well-to-do men. Turbans were common. Men vied with women in putting on jewels of various kinds. Anklets, girdles, bangles bracelets, necklaces of various designs, finger-rings and large ear and nose wears were used by women. Men also wore anklets, bangles, necklaces, finger-rings and ear-rings. Men as well as women decorated themselves with perfumed flowers. Men wore garlands of flower round their necks and also in the hair. Perfumes like sandal paste, rose water and musk were used by both men and women.

Economic Conditions : A large section of the population supported itself by agriculture. Rice, wheat, jowar, cotton, sugarcane and pulses were grown on a large scale. There were plantations of coconuts and areca. Irrigational facilities came to be expanded. Weaving of cotton textiles, carpentry and coir work, the last named on the coast, were popular professions. Weaving was wide-spread. Jaggery and sugar were produced on a large scale. The Malenadu area produced cardamom, pepper, ginger and various other spices. The ports on the East and West coast were humming with trade. Spices, iron ore, coconuts, areca, jaggery, limestone, rice and textiles

were exported on a large scale. Horses from Persia, armaments from Europe, silk from China and other goods like copper, coral, mercury and salt petre were imported. The imperial capital was a great centre of world trade. Men from every continent were found there according to Barbosa. Trade in jewellery and precious stone, was going on a scale that stunned the foreign visitors. These bullions were sold beside the streets of the capital according to their testimony.

Literary Activity: Vijayanagar patronised literary activity in every South Indian language. Great works in Sanskrit came to be written during the period. Sayana and Madhava produced the celebrated commentary on the Vedas, *Vedartha Prakasha*, running into several dozen volumes. Sayana produced many anthologies like *Ayurveda Sudhanidhi*, *Yajnyantara Sudhanidhi*, *Prayascitta Sudhanidhi* and other such works in Sanskrit. Rajanatha Dindima wrote *Saluvabhyudayam*, Rajanatha Dindima II *Achyutabhyudayam*, Vedanta Desika *Yadevabhyudayam* and Vidyaranya *Shankara Vijayam*. There were poetesses like Thirumalamba and Gangambika. Emperors like Devaraya II, Saluva Narasimha, Krishnadevaraya and Aravidu Tirumala were also writers in Sanskrit.

Telugu writers Nachana Some and Shrinatha were patronised by the Sangamas. The Telugu *prabandha* form developed during the days of the empire. *Manucharitamu* by Peddana is the most celebrated Prabandha work. Krishnadevaraya patronised this poet and there were eight great Telugu poets in his court called as ashtadiggajas, who included Peddana, Kumara Dhurjati, Tennali Ramakrishna, Nandida Gopa and Nandi Timmana. Krishnadevaraya himself composed *Amuktemalyada* in Telugu. His period is called the Golden Age of Telugu literature.

Krishnadevaraya also patronised Haridasa, a Tamil poet. Arunagirinatha, Svarupananda Deshika, Tattuvaraya, Pugalendi, Andari and Kacchiyappa Shivacharya were noted Tamil poets who lived in the days of the empire.

Celebrated Kannada poets like Kumaravyasa, Chamarasa and Ratnakaravarni lived in the days of the empire. Timmanna was patronised by Krishnadevaraya. Chatu Vithalanatha, Madhura, Salva, Purandaradasa and Kanakadasa were among the many Kannada poets of the days of the empire. Veerashaiva religion and literature witnessed a renaissance during the period. Tontada Siddalingayati and others undertook the task of editing the Veerashaiva *vachanas* of the saints who had lived during the 12th and 13th centuries. Lakkanna, Jakkanna and Mallanarya were some other Veerashaiva poets of the time. But Chamarasa is the foremost among them.

Art and Architecture : Percy Brown has called Vijayanagara art as "the supremely passionate flowering of the Dravidian style". The Vijayanagara temples borrowed many features from the earlier monuments of the Cholas, Pandyas, Chalukyas and the Hoysalas. Built with a strong enclosure, the Vijayanagara temple has a high gateway, crowned by a *gopura*. The gateway is of granite or hard stone. But the super structure, *gopura*, is of brick, wood and stucco. The *gopura* ascends like the Chola *gopura* and on its *talas* or tiers are placed life-size brick and stucco figures of men and Gods. Atop the *gopura* there is a *shalashikhara* resembling a barrel made to rest on its side.

The builders of Vijayanagara period used hard granite as the medium of their art to add strength and durability to their structure. Founded to resist alien onslaughts, the empire found granite to be a suitable medium which represented the robust temperament of the military state. Soapstone was discarded. The type of *gopuras* found at Hampi, including the loftiest at the Virupaksha Temple are found everywhere in South India. The emperors of Vijayanagara provided every existing temple a strong enclosure and a lofty *gopura* called as *rayagopura*. At Belur, Shrisailam, Shrirangam, and in all the holy places in the South one comes across magnificent *rayagopuras* erected in those days. In addition to this, every earlier temple came to

be provided with a large *kalyanamantapa* or *vasanthamantapa*. "The elaboration of ceremonial observances produced a corresponding elaboration in the temple system, increasing the number of buildings within the temple enclosure and also to certain extent altering their intention", says Brown.

Every Vijayanagara temple, apart from having an enclosure and a *gopura*, had a *kalyanamantapa*, and a number of other *mantapas*. The main temple has an additional shrine or *garbhagriha* for the female deity. The Hazararama Temple, Krishnasvami Temple and the Vithalasvami Temple in the capital are the most important examples of the style. In addition, the temples at Tadapatri and Lepakshi, the Kamakshi Temple at Kanchi, the thousand-pillared *basti* at Mudabidire and the Khetappayya Narayana Temple at Bhatkal are some of the other creations of this age.

Kalyanamantapas or *sabhamantapas* display all special features of the Vijayanagara style. They stand on a square or polygonal plinth, moulded, four or five feet in height. They have narrow flights of steps on four sides, and free sides of the steps are guarded by *makaras* or elephants. These *mantapas* are open pavilions, free of walls, and supported by ornate pillars. "In fact the varied and complicated treatment of pillars was perhaps the most striking feature of the Vijayanagara style", says, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastry. Hewn out of large blocks of stone with a 50 to 60 square feet cross-section in their original shape, these columns are the wonder and despair of the onlooker. On one side of the pillar is engraved a charging horse or hippogryph (*makara*) standing on its hind legs, with its front legs lifted, in a jumping posture. These animals rear up to the heights of nine feet. They are executed in a vigorous style and look like works of hardened steel. The other sides of the column have a variety of carvings especially of divinities. Another type of pillar consists of a cluster of miniature pillars surrounding the thick central shaft. Figures of Gods are also engraved in bold relief on these columns on the sides of its square base.

The inner ceiling of the *mantapa* is severely plain, except for a pendent of flat lotus at the centre. The *mantapa* has broad eaves or *chajjas* with a double curve. Atop this *mantapa* are rows of niches or *devakoshtas* of brick and mortar on the edges.

Some secular buildings in the capital have the impress of Muslim architecture. These brick and mortar works like the Kamalamahal and the elephant stable have arches and domes.

Simplicity and serenity of ancient Karnataka art reappeared in the Vijayanagara period. The beautiful stone chariot in the enclosure of the Vithala Temple, and the monolithic Narasimha statue at Hampi are fine examples of Vijayanagara sculpture. The column in *kalyanamantapa* have the art of the sculptor fully represented in them. The vigorous animals in jumping posture speak of the great tact of stone workers. The statues of Sasivekalu Ganesha, Kadalekalu Ganesha, Narasimha and the Gomata monoliths at Karkala and Venur are the fine examples that speak volumes of the artistic ability of the Vijayanagara sculptors.

Painting also flourished. Paes speaks of the painted walls of the palace. The ceiling of the *kalyanamantapa* of Virupaksha at Hampi have paintings depicting *Dasavathara*, *Girijakalyana* and other religious *motifs*. The Virabhadra temple of Lepaksi has hundreds of *motifs* on its ceilings representing stories from *Shivapurana*. Lepakshi is called the "Ajanta of the Shaivas".

Karnataka music blossomed during the time. Vidyaranya (work-*Sangeethasara*) and Ramamathya (*Swaramela Kalanidhi*) are two scholars who wrote on this music in Sanskrit. Purandara Dasa highly popularised it by composing simple songs in Kannada and singing them too.

"Never-to-be-forgotten" Empire : Vijayanagara Empire represented a magnificent epoch in the history of South India. The ruins at Hampi, even in their disolate condition, give us a glimpse of the ancient grandeur of the capital.

Travellers have described that the city had seven enclosures. The visitor comes across a number of gigantic ramparts, at times moving across rocks and mountains, reminding one of the China Wall in miniature. At times the natural rocks themselves are used as parts of the fortification. The open space in between two rocks is filled by patches of walls made of huge boulders, cut into rectangular shapes. The lofty tower of Virupaksha, and of those of the innumerable shrines, kissing the azure sky, whether from open plain or from the tops of hills like Hemakuta or the Matanga, the broad street in front of the Virupaksha temple, flanked by rows of stone pavilions which once housed shops humming with activity, the Kamalamahal, the elephant stables, the platform going by the name of *mahanavami dibba* and the remains of the once magnificent palace, speak volumes of the glory and grandeur of one of the greatest cities of the contemporary world. The European travellers compared it to Rome. It looks as though it had a population of over one million in its hey days.

The temples of Vithalswami, Hazararamaswamy, Kodandarama, Achuytaraya and many others scattered over a wide area, and innumerable smaller shrines, the ruins of streets and townships in the city stun the visitor by their vastness. The remains of the queens' bath, the watch towers, the royal mint and the royal palace bring to the minds of the onlookers, the events that must have taken place in the precincts of these places. "No remains of the city recall more vividly the story of the forgotten empire of Vijayanagara than these massive terraces, still impressive examples of architecture in spite of their mutilated super-structure", says Brown while speaking of the platform of the audience hall at the centre of the city. He adds, "for here the ruler of this region sat in state on his golden throne to view the pomp and pageantry symbolising the greatness and wealth of his possessions".

The descriptions given by the travellers, like Nicolo Conti, Abdur Razaak, Barbosa, Paes and Nuniz of the city and the magnificent festival like *dasara*, and the size of its colourful

army gives us a better picture of the glory of the empire. Abdur Razaak says that "the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal" this city in the world.

Niccolo Conti (1420-21) says that the city had a circumference of 60 miles. He speaks of the elaborately constructed water channels which the kings caused to be cut to irrigate lands. Barbosa who came in the days of Krishnadevaraya says that the empire "is very rich, and well supplied with provisions, and is very full of cities and large townships". He speaks of the square and wide streets of the capital. "They are constantly filled with an innumerable crowd of all nations and creeds", says he and adds that there was an infinite trade in the city. He speaks of the trade in jewels, diamonds, pearls, seed-pearls and silk brocades which were in plenty on its streets.

Domingo Paes who gives a longer account of trade in the city says that "all sorts of rubies and diamonds and emeralds and pearls and seed-pearls and cloths and every other sort of thing on earth is there that you may wish to buy". He speaks of the abundance of foodstuffs, vegetables, fruits and animals like pigs and fowls being sold in profusion in the market of the city at cheap rates. He claims Vijayanagara to be "as large as Rome and very beautiful". "This is the best provided city in the world", he adds. Nuniz also expresses a similar view: "The markets are always overflowing with very abundance of fruits" and he adds that they were "very cheap".

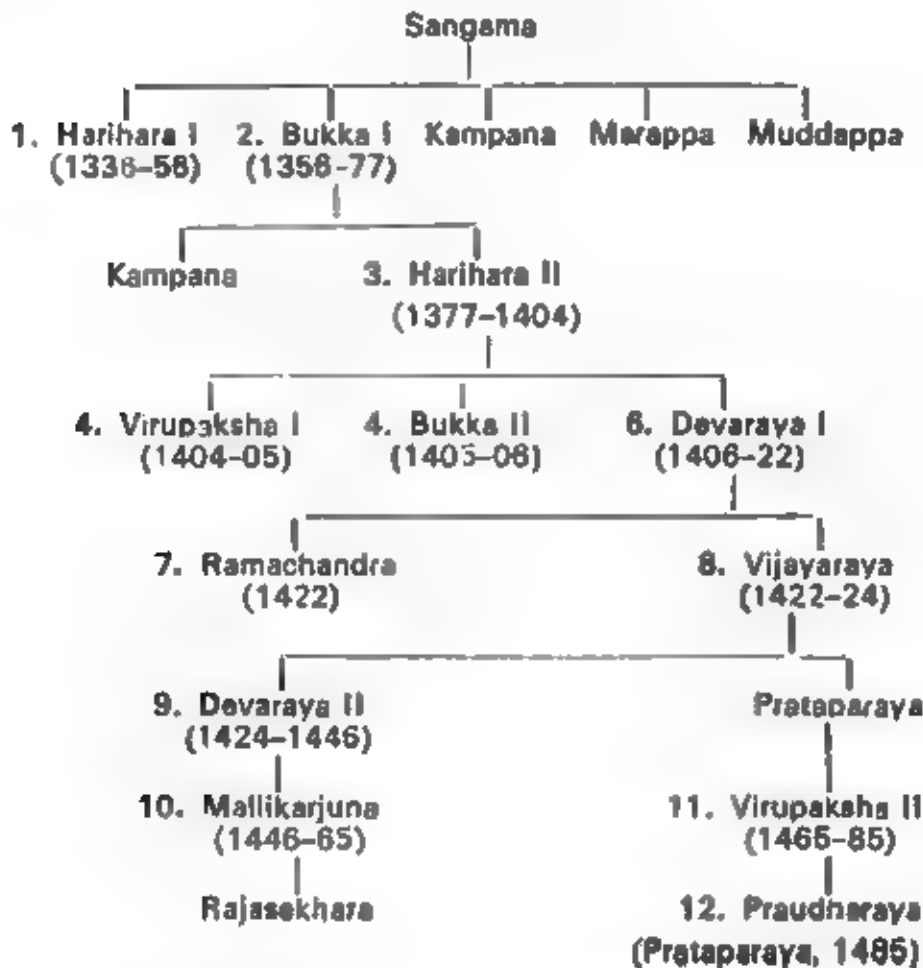
While speaking of *mahanavami* festival and the army parade that followed it, Paes says the following: "To see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metal plates that I have no words to express what I saw". The traveller is short of words while giving expression to his impressions regarding the parada: "to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless, for I sat along with my

head so often turned from one side to the other that I was almost falling backward of my horse with my senses lost". "Cost of it all is not to be wondered at, as there is so much money in the land, and chiefs are so wealthy", Paes adds.

These extracts from the various foreign visitors give us an idea of the conditions that prevailed in Vijayanagara. No doubt it was a "never-to-be-forgotten" empire. This is also true when the cultural attainments of the period are also taken into account.

GENEALOGIES

I Sangama Dynasty



II Saluva Dynasty

13. Narasimha (1485-91)

14. Timma (1491) 15. Narasimha II (1491-1505)

III Tuluva Dynasty

16. Narasa Nayaka (1491-1503)

17. Viranarasimha (1503-09) 18. Krishnadevaraya (1509-29) 19. Achyuta Ranga (1529-42)

20. Venkata (1542) 21. Sadashiva (1542-70)

IV Arevidu Dynasty

Sriranga

22. Ramaraya (1542-65) 23. Tirumala (1565-72) Venkatadri

Tirumala Sriranga 24. Sriranga I (1572-86) Rama 25. Venkata II (1586-1614)

21. Venkata III (1632-42) Chinna Venkata Tirumala 26. Sriranga II (1614)

29. Sriranga III (1642-46) 27. Ramadevaraya (1617-32)



Map No. 3

CHAPTER X

THE MUSLIM DYNASTIES

The Bahman Shahis

A Muslim dynasty that ruled over northern parts of the Deccan initially from Gulbarga and later from Bidar during the days of Vijayanagara are the Bahman Shahis or the Bahmani Sultans. The Bahman Shahis and the Adilshahis of Bijapur have played a notable part in the history of Karnataka by their contribution to the field of art and by their propagation of Islam in the State. Though there are a few inscriptions of the Bahmani dynasty, the main sources of information on their rule are certain historical accounts mainly written by Muslims. The earliest among these is *Burhan-i-Masir* by Tabataba who wrote his work in the court of Burhan Nizamshah of Ahmednagar between 1591 and 1596, and *Tabakat-i-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-din Bakshi, written in 1593-94. They give a brief account of this dynasty. The most important authority is Ferishta who completed his work *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* in 1606 at Bijapur. Shirazi, the author of *Tazkirat-ul-Muluk* (1610), is another authority. The rulers also left behind a number of coins.

In the days of Muhammad Tughluq, an official of his at Devagiri (Daulatabad) revolted against him and founded a new kingdom with Gulbarga as its capital. Alla-ud-din Hasan was the founder of this dynasty and two stories are narrated regarding his origin. According to Tabataba and Nizam-ud-din, this founder of the dynasty belonged to a poor family and he was a servant of one brahmin astrologer called Gangu. With the help of this brahmin he entered into the service of the Sultan of Delhi, and later founded the kingdom. Out of gratitude for his brahmin master, Alla-ud-din called his dynasty as Bahman Shahi. Ferishta gives a different version according

to which the founder of the dynasty was a descendent of the Bahman Shah of Persia. Dr P. M. Joshi feels that both the accounts cannot be rejected. "In any case we may reasonably hold that Hasan was born in humble life and was by his own efforts elevated to the throne", says the scholar.

The new kingdom extended from the Krishna in the South to the Penganga in the North, and thus included parts of modern Karnataka, Maharashtra and Andhra. It was divided by him into four *tarafs* or provinces viz., Gulbarga, Daulatabad, Bidar and Birar. He patronised Isami who wrote *Futuh-us-Salatin* a Persian historical poem. The Sultan was highly attached to Sufi saints like Shaikh Gharib, Shaikh Bijapuri and Shaikh Junaidi.

Alla-ud-din Hasan was succeeded by his first son Muhammad Shah in 1358, and he had to fight a long-drawn war against Kapaya Nayaka of Orangal and Bukka of Vijayanagara. But Kapaya Nayaka was defeated in the war and his son, Vinayakadeva, was taken captive and killed by the Sultan. He secured the fort of Golkonda from Orangal. He built the Jami-Masjid of Gulbarga in 1367.

Muhammad was succeeded by his son Alla-ud-din Mujahid in 1375 and he was murdered by his cousin Daud in 1378. Daud, who ascended the throne, ruled only for a short while in 1378 and his younger brother Muhammad II succeeded him. This prince was a great scholar and a great patron of scholars. He appointed Faizullah Anju, a learned man and divine as his chief justice (Sadar-i-Jahan). The king was highly interested in the welfare of his subjects and is renowned for his famine welfare measures. But he lost the Konkana coast to Vijayanagara during his time. After his death in 1397, two of his sons Ghiyas-ud-din and Shams-ud-din succeeded him one after the other in the year 1397 itself. Finally Sultan Firuz, one of their cousins and a brother-in-law, ascended the throne in November 1397.

Firuz Shah : Firuz Shah is the greatest among the Bahmani Sultans. He was the son of Ahmed, a younger brother of Muhammad Shah I. He warred against Vijayanagara three times in 1398, 1046 and 1417.

But he does not appear to have gained anything as a result of these campaigns. But he could capture Rajamahendri from Kataya Vema Reddi in 1417. In his war with the ruler of Kherla in Madhya Pradesh he met with success. Though Ferishta speaks of a marriage of the Sultan with a Vijayanagara princess in 1406 after the Sultan's second campaign against the empire, the other sources are silent over this and Ferishta must be wrong in his statement. During his third campaign of 1417, Firuz was defeated and his territory was laid waste by the enemy. This defeat told upon the mind of the Sultan and he fell sick. There followed a civil war for succession and the Sultan surrendered the throne to his younger brother Ahmed, by the close of 1422. Firuz died soon after this event.

Sultan Firuz has been described as "an impetuous and a mighty monarch" by Tabataba. "He took much pleasure in the society of Sheikhs, learned men and hermits", he adds. Shirazi praises him in the following words : "He was a good, just, generous and pious king ; he supported himself by copying the Quran and the ladies of the harem by embroidering garments and selling them. As a ruler he was without an equal". He had many Hindu wives, and he allowed them to practice their own religion.

He was a man of letters and a good linguist. He was well acquainted with several sciences like geometry, logic and theology. Some scholars have compared him to Muhammad Tughluq for his scholarship and literary attainments. Mulla Issaq Surhindi, a great scholar, was patronised by him. Faizullah Anju, another learned man, was appointed a minister by him. He had founded an observatory at Daulatabad in 1407, under the guidance of Hasan Gilani, a noted astronomer. He beautified the capital and also built a well-planned city, Firuzabad on the banks of the Bhima.

He encouraged commercial activities and took special care to develop two ports on the Konkana coast, Chaul and Dabhol, to encourage overseas trade. "Firuz was an enlightened ruler, but not a rigid Muslim. Though fond of wine and music, he delighted in holding learned discourses with philosophers, poets, historians and other learned men whom he gathered round him", says Dr. Joshi. In the words of S. K. Sinha, "Firoz Shah may easily be regarded as one of the best Sultans of Bahmani Dynasty—nay even of India. In his reign the Bahmani dynasty attained its greatest splendour".

His successor, Ahmed (1422–36) succeeded in his war against Orangal and he captured the fort of Orangal. In alliance with Sultan Nasir Khan of Khandesh whose daughter he married, Ahmed conducted two campaigns against Gujarat, in 1429 and 1430, but without much success. In his war against Vijayanagara, he met with reverses and was forced to shift his capital from Gulbarga to a place further in the North to Bidar in c. 1424. Ahmed Shah was a ruler with saintly temperment and was called Vali or saint by his contemporaries. He was highly devoted to Sufi saint Gesu Daraz, who was a great writer. Persian poet Azari completed *Bahman Nama*, a historical work, during his period. The Sola Khamb Masjid at Bidar was built in 1425 by his son Muhammad.

A peculiar development in the Bahmani court during his days was the coming into existence of two rival groups of nobles. Many foreigners like Turks, Arabs, Mongols and Persians were appointed to important positions in the Bahmani court. This was not liked by the local Muslims who came to be neglected. The foreigners called as Pardeshis formed one group, and the Deccanis, the local Muslims, formed the other group. The latter were joined by the Abyssinian Muslims. Religious difference gave a special edge to this group rivalry as the Pardeshis were Shiyas and Deccanis were Sunnis. This group conflict highly weakened the kingdom during the subsequent period.

Ahmed Shah was succeeded by his son Alla-ud-din II (1436-58) and he conducted two campaigns against Vijayanagara, first in 1435-36, which ended in failure and the second in 1443-44. Devaraya II lost one of his sons during the latter war. But the Sultan did not secure any territory. He married the daughter of Raja of Sangameshwar whom he made his chief queen. This enraged his other father-in-law, the Sultan of Khandesh. There followed a war between the two in which the latter was defeated. As this campaign was conducted by only Pardeshis, the Deccanis were highly enraged. But later when the ruler of Khelna revolted against him in 1446, the Pardeshi army which was sent against him, was defeated. The vanquished army took shelter in the fort of Chakan. A majority of them were massacred by the order of the Sultan as the Deccanis carried tales against the Pardeshis. Thus the group rivalry in the court increased after this Chakan massacre.

Alla-ud-Din built a beautiful mausoleum at Ashtur near Bidar for his father and a hospital in the capital. He reorganised the judicial system by appointing learned men as judges. Swami Narasimha Sarasvati of Ganagapur is stated to have cured the Sultan of some boil which was giving him trouble. His son Humayun who succeed him 1458 has been described as Zalim or a tyrannical ruler by Ferishta. He appointed Mahamud Gavan to a high position, as Malik Naib. Humayun was murdered by one of his servants and he was succeeded by his son Nizam Shah, an eight-year-old lad (1461). There was an invasion by the Sultan of Malava during his time, which was driven back by Gavan. The young prince died in 1463 and was succeeded by his nine-year-old younger brother, Muhammad III. Gavan became Amir-ul-Umra during his time. Gavan conquered Goa and other territories from Vijayanagara during his days. Russian traveller Nikitin visited Bidar during his time in 1471, and he gives a description of the capital, the overseas trade of the kingdom, and its army; he also speaks highly of Gavan,

The Deccani-Pardeshi rivalry reached such heights during the period that a conspiracy of the Deccanis resulted in the execution of the able minister Gavan by the Sultan in 1481. This created terror in the minds of the Pardeshis, and many able officials left the Bahmani court soon after this event. The kingdom was highly weakened as a result. Muhammad III was the last strong ruler in the line and only weak rulers succeeded him. His son Mahmud (1482-1518) was a boy of 12 when he came to the throne and his period saw the dismemberment of the Bahmani kingdom and he became a puppet in the hands of Qasim Barid, an official. The Sultan warred against Vijayanagara Empire often and made himself all the more weak. In the year 1489 Adil Khan, one of the commanders, left Bidar and founded an independent kingdom from Bijapur. When Mahmud died in 1518, Amir Ali Barid, son of Qasim Barid became independent and kept the nominal Sultan in confinement. Four princes, all sons of Mahmud Shah, succeeded him one after the other, viz. Ahmed (1518-21), Alla-ud-din III (1521-22), Valiullah (1522-25) and Kalimullah (1525-27). All these ruled in name. The last named ran away to Bijapur in 1527 and from there to Ahmednagar where he died. Five new kingdoms viz, the Adilshahi of Bijapur, the Baridshahi of Bidar, the Qutbshahi of Golkonda, the Nizamshahi of Ahmednagar and the Imadshahi of Berar came into existence after the break up of Bahmani Kingdom. Of these, the first two ruled over parts of Karnataka.

Mahamud Gavan : In the history of the Bahmani Dynasty, Khwaja Mahamud Gavan, who was only a minister, is a towering personality, rising over the heads of even the Bahmani Sultans. By his ability as an administrator and a military leader, by his scholarship and patronage to learning, and by the simple life he led, Gavan becomes a subject of serious attention.

Born in Persia in a noble family in 1411, Mahamud Gavan was well educated as a boy, and he took to the profession of a merchant. He loved literature from his boyhood and enjoyed

the company of religious men. He had heard of Muhibulla Kirmani, a religious man at Bidar in India, and being eager to meet the saint he decided to visit Bidar during his travels as a trader. He came to India in 1445, and visited the court of Sultan Alla-ud-Din. The Sultan was highly impressed by the scholarship, sincerity and honesty of Gavan, and he offered Gavan a position in his court. Thus Gavan became a resident of Bidar, and devoted his life for the betterment of the Sultanate till his death.

Gavan served Sultan Humayun too and continued even after the death of Humayun. Humayun honoured Gavan with the title "Malik-al-Tijar" (Chief among the merchants). The successor of Humayun, Nizam Shah (1461-63), was a lad of seven, and queen-mother, Makhaduma Jehan, who was the regent, had a lot of faith in Gavan, and he was her right-hand man in administration. He was appointed Vazir. With the help of Khwaja Jahan Turk, another member of the council of regency, Gavan repulsed the invading army of Gajapati Kapilendra. This was followed by the capture of Bidar itself by the Sultan of Malava. The young Sultan was removed to Firuzabad, and the invading army was driven back by Gavan, who sought the help of the Sultan of Gujarat in this campaign.

The young Sultan died in 1463, and was succeeded by his younger brother Muhamud III and Gavan continued to control the affairs of the kingdom, enjoying the confidence of the queen-mother Makhaduma Jehan, whom Dr. Joshi considers as "one of the few remarkable women that have appeared in the ruling dynasties of medieval India". Khwaja Jahan Turk fell out of the favour of the queen-mother, and she appointed Gavan 'Vakil-us-Sultanat' (deputy of the kingdom) or Prime Minister. On Gavan fell the responsibilities of educating the young Sultan and training him in administration. During this period, he fought against the Gajapatis and Vijayanagara, and expanded the territories of the Bahmanis. "The Khwaja excelled in the field of war perhaps even more than he did in the field of diplomacy", says Prof. Sherwani.

In the South, he secured the important centres like Bagalkot, Hubli and Belgaum, and in the West, the Konkana coast including Goa (1470). This was a major achievement of Gavan. Similarly in the East he won Kondavidu and Rajamahendri.

Not only was Gavan an able military leader, but also an efficient administrator. The four *tarafs* into which the kingdom had been divided were reorganised into eight units. Administration came to be highly centralised to prevent revolts and unrest. The *tarafdars* came to be paid from the royal treasury and the feudal or *jahgirdari* system was avoided as far as possible. Every *taraf* had a strong fort, where a strong army was cantoned. Revenue system also came to be reorganised by measuring the land and classifying it according to fertility, irrigational facilities and nearness to market.

Gavan was a lover of learning, and he founded a college (*madrasa*) at Bidar. It was housed in a large building constructed by him in the city. It is the most imposing structure at Bidar even to-day. The college was endowed with grants not only for teaching, but also for boarding and lodging of students, teachers and saintly persons. A manuscript library, with nearly 3,000 volumes, was also founded in this college.

This "unrivalled minister" (in [the words of Tabataba) became an eyesore to the Deccani party as he was a Paradeshi. They conspired against him, and prepared a forged letter, in which Gavan was exposed as having "invited" the Gajapati to invade Bidar. Sultan Muhammad III had Gavan executed (1481). Later he repented over his action. The Sultan did not survive this tragedy for long.

Thus came the end of a great loyal servant of the kingdom. He had saved the kingdom in its moments of crises. He had expanded it by capturing vast territories. He had improved its administration and strengthened its economy. Though the Prime Minister, he led a simple life. Much of his income he spent for philanthropic purposes. He was a great scholar, writer, and also a poet. 'Rouzat-ul-Insha', a collection of

letters and 'Diwan-i-Ashr', a collection of articles are ascribed to him by Ferishta. They are described as works of considerable merit in Persian language.

Administration : Modelled on the Islamic pattern, the Bahmani State had the king as the supreme power in administration. He was not only the ruler but the judge, military leader and the preacher at public worship. He was "the shadow of God on earth". Though the king in theory enjoyed unlimited power, in practice he depended on the advice of ministers in taking decisions. But the ministers held office at his pleasure. *Vakil-us-sultanat* or prime minister, *amir-i-jumla*, finance minister, *wazir-i-ashraf* or foreign minister were the chief members of the ministerial council. Dr. P. M. Joshi also mentions *wazir-i-kull* and *peshwa*, two other ministers "with somewhat undefined duties". He also speaks of junior ministers like *nazir* and *kotwal* on the civil side, the former perhaps being the chief accountant and the latter, the head of the police force and special magistrate. The chief justice was known as *sadar-i-jahan*.

Military and civil officials were granted *iqtes* or *jahgirs*; but they were not hereditary. *Jahgirs* were granted to both Muslims and Hindus, though the number of Hindu recipients was small.

The kingdom was divided into four *tarafs* by Alla-ud-Din I, and each *taraf* was looked after by one *tarafdar* or governor. The governors were supreme in their respective divisions. "They collected the revenue, raised and commanded the army and made appointments both civil and military, in their provinces" (—'Cambridge History of India'). They were transferable. In the days of Gawan, the *tarafs* were increased to eight. At least some of the *tarafdars* were also officials at the centre. Gawan, in addition to his being *Vakil-us-sultanat*, looked after the *taraf* of Bijapur. Khwaja Jahan held the same post at the centre earlier, and the *tarafdari* of Telangana. Each governor was also a military commander.

Every *taraf* was divided into districts called *sarkars* and it was further subdivided into *paraganas* or taluka. This last unit consisted of a number of villages.

The Bahmanis, following the traditional Hindu custom, collected only one-sixth of the gross produce as land revenue. Gawan reorganised the revenue system, as noted already. Customs duty on animals, an import duty on cloth, silk and crokery at the rate of 3.5%, and on gold, silver and jewellery at the rate of 7.5% were levied.

They maintained a postal system with *chaukies* or outposts at every three-mile points, where articles were exchanged. They were carried by horses or sentries. This was specially meant for state correspondence.

The army was headed by *amir-ul-umra*, who had under him officials commanding 1000 soldiers, sometimes 500, 300 or 100. These officials were paid a fixed sum, or granted an *iqta* for the maintenance of the contingent under them. Initially central army consisted of 50,000 infantry and 25,000 cavalry. The *tarafdars* had to maintain an army. Nikitin says that the Sultan took with him an army of 3,00,000.

Art and Architecture : The most notable aspect in the history of the Bahmanis is their contribution to the field of art and architecture. The buildings that they have left at Gulbarga, Bidar and other places in their kingdom have an important place in the Hindu-Muslim art. This is known as the Deccani style. The style asserted its individual character under the Bahmanis, and reached its height under the Adilshahis. The Bahmani kings affected changes according to the local environments in the Hindu-Muslim style, evolved in the north by the Delhi Sultans.

The earliest of their buildings is Jami Masjid (1367). This vast building, 216 ft. in length and 176 ft. in breadth, has a central courtyard, covered by 63 small domes. The arches on the three side walls admit light into this courtyard. The mosque

proper or the prayer chamber has a large dome, 40 ft. in diameter. There are four domes in four corners, 25 ft. in diameter each, around this. The mosque resembles the great mosque at Cordova in Spain. But its building and decoration show Hindu influence also. The building "takes front rank among such buildings by its simplicity and grandeur".

There are certain tombs of the Sultans near Gulbarga. They are massive domed structures. Their outer walls have fine geometrical and calligraphic designs. The Bande Nawaz Tomb is another important structure at Gulbarga. Its walls are also decorated with calligraphic designs and they are also painted.

The buildings at Bidar have a greater amount of foreign influence in them as a good number of craftsmen from Turkey, Persia and Arabia had been called for their construction.

The Sola Khamba Mosque at Bidar has a semi-spherical dome, resembling some of the Roman buildings. Its pillars are circular. Rangin Mahal palace impresses the visitor by its walls, decorated in different bright colours. There are many lofty multi-storied buildings in the fort which include Gagan Mahal, Tarkash Mahal, Chini Mahal and Nagina Mahal. Even in their ruinous condition, they impress the visitor. One of the buildings has its wall finely decorated by pearl-shell mosaics of artistic merit.

At Ashtur near Bidar are 12 tombs, and of these, that of Ahmad Shah Wali "is unique by virtue of its colour, design and Persian paintings". These tombs are larger in size than those at Gulbarga with loftier domes. Their facades are adorned with "a greater multiplicity of arched recesses and screened windows".

The most impressive among the buildings is the *Madrasa* or the school of Gawan at Bidar. Covering an area of 250 ft. by 180 ft., it is three storied with tall minarets at its two corners. These towers resemble Chand Minar, and their frontage is decorated with coloured glittering tiles. They "challenge

comparison with anything of its kind in Persia''. Its interior had many halls, professors' quarters and a library. A mosque in it is still intact. Even in its dilapidated condition, the *Madrasa* speaks of glory, now extinct.

THE ADILSHAHIS

The Adilshahis are one among the five kingdoms that came into existence after the fall of the Bahmanis. They were ruling from Bijapur and came to have control over major parts of Karnataka after the fall of Vijayanagara. Their kingdom is renowned for its cultural contributions, especially in the field of art and architecture. Their buildings have a notable place in the Hindu-Muslim architecture. Ibrahim Rauza and Gol Gumbaz are two monuments of theirs which no lover of the Hindu-Muslim architecture can afford to miss.

The source material on the dynasty is mainly in the Persian language which includes regular books on history written by contemporary writers. The most important among such writers is Farishta who wrote his work in the court of Ibrahim II at Bijapur in 1606. Shirazi also completed his *Tazkirat-ul-muluk* in the same court in 1610. Hassan Shauqi completed his *Zaffarnama Nizamshah* in 1625 in the days of the same ruler. *Ali Nama* is another work written in the days of Ali II by Mulla Nusrati (1673). *Ibrahim Nama* (1603) by Abdul Dehlavi in Urdu gives a good description of the court of Ibrahim II. A later work by Jubairi, *Basatin-us-Salatn*, dated 1825 is a detailed history of the dynasty. There are considerable number of inscriptions written in the Persian and Kannada languages of the dynasty. A large number of paper documents in Persian are also available. Verthema (1502), the Italian traveller, Ralph Fitch (1589), an Englishman, Mandelslo (1639), a German and Trevernier, a Frenchman who came in the days of Muhammad Adilshah (1638), also reveal interesting details. The accounts of the neighbouring dynasties like the Nizam-

shahis, the Qutbshahis, the Marathas, the Mughuls, the Portuguese and the rulers of Keladi and Mysore contain glimpses of the history of the Adilshahis. Mention must be made of Kannada sources like *Kanthirava Narasaraaja Vijayam* and *Keladinripa Vijayam* also.

The first ruler of the dynasty was Yusuf Adilkhan, a Turkish noble and commander of the Bahmani ruler. He was a Shiya by faith and had married a Hindu girl. He was tolerant towards the Hindus. Taking advantage of the feuds and civil wars and dejected by the hatred of the chief administrator of the Bahmani ruler, Amir Barid towards him, Adilkhan decided to revolt and called himself Shah at Bijapur in 1489. He inherited the conflict between the Bahmanies and Vijayanagara over the Raichur Doab. He died in a war with Vijayanagara in 1510. The Portuguese took Goa from him in 1510. Verthema calls him a "powerful and prosperous king", and of the city of Bijapur he says that it was "encircled by a fortress that contains beautiful and majestic mansions".

His son, Ismail, who succeeded him in 1510, had to see bad days as he lost the most fertile territory of the kingdom, the Raichur Doab to Vijayanagara in 1512. Krishnadevaraya invaded his kingdom, captured the capital city and camped there for sometime in 1522. The city came to be despoiled by the Vijayanagara army. This information is furnished by Nuniz and epigraphs.

The Shah of Persia had recognised Ismail as an independent ruler and had sent an ambassador to his court. He completely defeated the Barid Shahis in 1529 by capturing Bidar and arresting Amir Barid. Later, Amir Barid agreed to be a tributary of Bijapur. Raichur and Mudugal were reconquered by him in 1530-31 from Vijayanagara. He was succeeded by his son Mallu in 1534 and this prince died in 1535, to be succeeded by his own younger brother Ibrahim I in 1535.

Ibrahim I gave up the policy of tolerance followed by his predecessor and accepted the Sunni faith. He started using

local language in administration and appointed Maratha officials. He sent his trusted commander to capture Adavani soon after his coming to the throne. Vijayanagara persuaded the Sultan to raise the siege by paying a large amount. Asad Khan Lari, his commander, who conducted the siege was granted Belgaum as *Jahgir* by the Sultan. The Nizamshah, in alliance with the Qutbshah, invaded his territory in 1543. Asad Khan drove them out. Qutbshah was wounded in this encounter. Nizamshah made an effort to crown Abdulla, a brother of Ibrahim as the ruler of Bijapur. When this conspiracy came to light Abdulla ran away to Goa where he was given shelter by the Portuguese. In 1551, Ramaraya of Vijayanagara conquered the Raichur Doab from Bijapur.

Ibrahim's son, Ali I, succeeded him in 1557. He resorted to the Shiya faith. He was a tolerant ruler and was a friend of Ramaraya of Vijayanagara who treated him as his adopted son. The fort of Kalyana which had been lost to the Nizamshah was reconquered by him with the help of Vijayanagara. But later, his neighbouring co-religionist rulers forced him to join the confederacy formed against Vijayanagara in 1564. Ali married Chandbibí, the daughter of Husain Nizamshah, before this political alliance was forged. The Shahi kingdoms defeated Vijayanagara in 1565 and the capital city was captured. Ali secured the fort of Adavani belonging to Vijayanagara in 1568. Later he made a futile effort to reconquer Goa in 1571 and a similar effort to capture Penukonda, the new capital of Vijayanagara in 1576.

He was well-versed in literature, logic and different sciences. He was a voracious reader. He lived a simple life and he encouraged Sufism. Chandbavadi, the great reservoir at Bijapur, was his creation. He was murdered in 1580 and was succeeded by his nephew Ibrahim II.

Ibrahim II: Though a boy of nine while coming to the throne, Ibrahim II rose to be a great ruler of the dynasty. He is the greatest among the Adilshahi rulers. Chandbibí, his aunt,

ran the administration as regent with the help of Kamil Khan, an able general, during the prince's minority. Later Chandbibī had Kamil Khan killed with the help of Kishwar Khan who became her assistant in administration. On hearing the news of the latter conspiring against her, the queen got rid of him cleverly and appointed Afzal Khan as the Prime Minister. Encouraged by this internal feud, the rulers of Ahmednagar, Golkonda and Bidar laid siege to the city in 1582. But this long siege was repulsed. Dilawar Khan, an able commander, became regent after this event and ran the administration for eight years. He arranged the marriage between the Sultan and Taj Sultana, the sister of the ruler of Golkonda. Ibrahim's sister was married to the prince of Ahmednagar. Thus the regent tried to maintain friendly relation, with the neighbours. English travellers, Fitch and Newberry, visited the kingdom at his time.

The Mughul army invaded the Bijapur territory in 1600 and defeated the Adilshah at Sonapur. Ibrahim II paid tribute to the Mughuls and even planned to marry his own daughter to the son of Emperor Akbar, prince Daniyal. Though the negotiations were over, the marriage did not actually take place. Ibrahim's period saw substantial expansion of the kingdom. Bidar came to be captured by him in 1619 and the Baridshahi territory was completely merged into his kingdom. His armies led by Manju Khan marched as far as Bankapur and collected tribute from many Hindu subordinates of Vijayanagara. In the East his commander Wahab Khan reached as far as Karnul. "Ibrahim's reign marks the climax in the history of Bijapur. It was an eventful reign" says S. K. Sinha.

The rule of Ibrahim II saw the kingdom growing to be a prosperous and affluent territory. Trade and commerce flourished. He was a tolerant ruler who honoured many Hindu scholars, poets and musicians in his court. He was nicknamed "Jagadgir" meaning *Jagadguru* and his coins also bore that name. He built the temple of Narasimha in the citadel of his capital and worshipped the God. He strove for cultural synthesis between Hindus and Muslims. He wrote a book

Kitab-e-Nauras in Urdu, one of the first books on music written in this language. The opening song of this book begins with an invocation to Goddess Sarasvati and he introduces Hindu music to the Persian-speaking Muslims in this work. He himself was a great musician. Ferishta and Shirazi, noted historians, were patronized by him. Dehlavi composed *Ibrahim Nama* in Urdu. Ibrahim Rauza, the great building at Bijapur, was his creation. Sat Malika Jahan Masjid, Ananda Mahal and Tajbavadi were his other creations. He added Nauraspur, a new extension to the capital.

He died in 1625 and he was succeeded by his son, Muhammad, a lad of 15. He had to face the Mughul invasion twice, once in 1631 and again in 1635. Bijapur agreed to pay tribute to the Mughuls in 1635. Shahji Bhosle, an able general in the service of Ahmednagar, joined Bijapur army in the days of Muhammad. His commander, Ranadullah Khan accompanied by Shahji conducted a campaign in the South and collected tribute from Bankapur, Keladi, Basavepattana, Bangalore and other principalities. They laid siege to Mysore but did not succeed in subduing it. Shahji was granted the *jahgir* at Bangalore together with the neighbouring territories of Sira, Doddaballapur, Kolara and Hosakote. For 50 years beginning with c. 1638, Shahji and his successors held Bangalore under their control. In the East, the Bijapur army captured Karnul and Ranadullah Khan laid siege to Velluru in 1641, the capital of Vijayanagara empire in those days.

Finally in 1646 Velluru came to be captured with the help of Golkonda. Jinji and Pondicherry also fell in the Adilshahi hands. When the Adilshahi armies were winning victories in the South, there appeared a new menace in the North. Shivaji, son of Shahji, started encroaching upon the Bijapur territory in Maharashtra by conquering the fort of Torna in 1646. This was followed by his further encroachment in the Bijapur territory when he captured Kondana, Purandar and other forts.

Muhammad was a great builder and Gol Gumbaz was his creation. Asar Mahal was another construction of his. French

traveller Trevernier who visited his kingdom (1638) says that the Nayakas of Tanjore and Madurai paid tribute to Bijapur. Raibag (Belgaum Dist.), according to him, was a great centre of trade, and Vengurla, a flourishing port in the Adilshahi kingdom. The Dutch had a factory at that port. Muhammad was succeeded in 1656 by his son Ali II who had to struggle hard to suppress Shivaji, who killed the Bijapur commander Afzal Khan in 1659. Mughuls invaded his territory twice. In 1668 he had to surrender his territories to the North of the Bhima to them. He died in 1672 and was succeeded by his son, Sikandar, who was only four-year old at that time. The Mughul expansion and Maratha depredations weakened the kingdom. Aurangzeb conquered Bijapur in October 1686 and took Sikandar prisoner. Thus the rule of the Adilshahis came to an end.

Administration : "The King under the Adilshahis, as in all monarchies, was the supreme head of administration. He was the fountain-head of justice, the principal symbol of power and prowess, the defender of people, the unbeaten conqueror and the only saviour and benefactor of his people", says S. K. Sinha, while speaking about Bijapur administration. The administrative institutions of Bahmani days did not change much. They had four definite wings of administration, looked after by a council of ministers. The Prime Minister or *vakil*, in addition to being in charge of general administration, also looked after the finance department and headed the army organisation. Eklas Khan, Mustafa Khan and Asad Khan were among those who held the post. The other ministers were, minister for justice or *sadar-jahan*, minister in charge of military matters or *shahib-arz*. There was at times a foreign minister too. The ministerial council met every day in the presence of the king.

The Prime Minister had under him a secretary called *nazir* to supervise financial matters, and *dabir* to look after administrative matters. There was also the auditor-general called *nazim-i-hisabat* and officer in charge of expenditure, *nazim-i-*

asraf under the *nazir*. *Sader-jahan* was assisted by *kazis* and *ulemas* in administering justice. There was to be an important official called *kotwal*, who was in charge capital city. *Vakil-e-dar* or steward of the palace was another official.

The kingdom was divided into *tarafs* or provinces, in imitation of the Bahmanis, and it was looked after by a *tarafdar* or governor. There were 12 *tarafs* in the kingdom at the height of its power, as pointed out by Sinha, viz., Bijapur, Belgaum, Sholapur, Raichur, Miraj, Bankapur, Naldurga, Bidar, Gulbarga, Bangalore, Madurai and Tanjore. The *tarafdar* was the "supreme military and civil authority in his province". The *taraf* was divided into *paraganas* or districts, and district into smaller units or groups of villages.

Certain areas were assigned as *jahgirs* to various military commanders and officials. Asad Khan, the prime minister, was assigned Belgaum, and Shahji Bhosle, the *jahgir* of Bangalore and Kanakagiri. Hereditary *jahgirdars* and petty princes were also allowed to continue, and they were to pay tribute regularly, and also send their military contingent in times of wars. The Ghorpades of Mudhol, the Mores of Javali, the rulers of Kittur, Basavapattana, Magadi etc., were such feudatories. When new territories were conquered, explored and cultivated territories were retained by the Adil Shah and the uncultivated regions adjoining them were assigned to the newly submitted feudatories. When Bangalore was conquered, the city was retained, and Magadi, a somewhat backward region, was assigned to Kempegouda of Bangalore. Tarikere Nayaka was forced to part with Tarikere, and take Basavapattana.

The land revenue system organised by Gawan, was continued, and one-sixth of the output from land was collected as revenue. Use of pastures was subject to tax. House tax was also in vogue. They did not levy *jizya* on non-Muslims. The administration was not oppressive as was the case in the contemporary Mughul empire, where one-third to half of the produce was collected as revenue. The Adilshahs took great

care to maintain and extend irrigational facilities. The customs collected at markets and weekly bazars were also an important source of income. As the kingdom had control over the Konkana coast, there was a flourishing overseas trade conducted by the Portuguese and the Dutch which brought to the state treasury rich dividends by way of export duties. Karwar, Dabhol and Rajapur were flourishing commercial ports. Bankapur, Hubli, Athani and Bijapur were some flourishing centres in inland trade. Various taxes levied by earlier Hindu rulers were continued.

Local administrative set-up was not disturbed. The Hindu *patil* and *kulkarni* continued to look after village administration, and local matters were decided by the village assembly of *balutedars* or heads of various castes. Every *paragana* had a *deshmukh* and a *deshkulkarni*.

The Adilshahs had a well-organised postal service with *chaukis* at almost every three miles, and it was meant for official purposes.

The Adilshahi administration was not intolerant of the Hindus. It recognised the Hindu religion and a large part of their army consisted of Hindu Marathas. The Narasimha temple at Bijapur and the Siddheswara Temple at Athani were among their constructions. Temples were allowed to enjoy their lands, and there are instances when liberal grants were made for these places of worship. Except certain fanatic or high-handed officials like Afzal Khan destroying Hindu temples or wounding the religious feelings of the Hindus, the state followed a tolerant policy. Later when the threat of Shivaji became real, and that of the Mughuls more serious, special care was taken not to hurt the Hindu subject who were, no doubt, in an overwhelming majority.

Cultural contribution : Though Persian was the official language, for local matters, Marathi and Kannada were used. But Marathi was favoured as a good number of their officials

and army men were of Maratha origin. The policy of using the local language in administration was specially favoured from the days of Ibrahim I.

Persian came to be patronised at Bijapur and noted historians like Ferishta and Shirazi wrote in this language. Urdu literature also developed at the Bijapur court and Abdul Mani, Mulla Abdur Razak, Abdul Kadir, Abdul Latif and Mulla Nusrati were some of the important writers in the language. Mulla Nusrati is the most celebrated among them, who composed 'Sikandar Nama'. Naraharikavi or Kumara Valmiki from Toravi near Bijapur, wrote *Torave Ramayana* in Kannada by the close of the 16th century.

Kitab-e-Nauras, one of the first books in Urdu (by Ibrahim II) is a work on music, and it indicates the patronage music enjoyed at the hands of the prince.

Art and Architecture : The constructions of the Adilshahis have a reckonable place in the art heritage of Karnataka, and their buildings are equally reckonable among the Hindu-Muslim monuments of India. Ibrahim Rauza competes with any Mughul structure in its grandeur. Gol Gumbuz is a unique structure which is impressive, even if its gignatic size alone is taken into account.

The Adilshahi buildings can be divided into three classes viz., palaces, mosques and mausoleums. It is in the last category of buildings that they excelled, as they showered on these "permanent abodes" all the skill of their craftsman. Both the Rauza and the Gumbuz belong to this last class.

The fort around the metropolis was a stupendous work with 96 bastions and six principal gates. Of their places, the first mention must be made of Gagan Mahal, built in 1561. Its large arch, nearly 62 feet wide, gives an awe-inspiring look to its audience hall. Sat Manzil, built by Ibrahim II, is the next major palace. It has many living apartments with richly ornamented windows, having been beautifully decorated with

stucco designs. Anand Mahal, another work of Ibrahim II has highly ornamented ceiling. Asar Mahal is remembered for its painted rooms and wooden decorations. It has two unusually big wooden columns. Anand Mahal and Sangeet Mahal are two other palaces, which are at present in ruins.

Before speaking about the mosques, mention must be made of Mehtar Mahal, which is only a gateway of a mosque. It has a flat roof of stone, "a puzzle to engineers", supported by delicately carved stone brackets. In elegance of finish and beauty of design, the ornamentation of Mehtar Mahal "is equal, if not superior, to any thing in Cairo", says Dr. Fergusson.

Jami Masjid, built by Ali I is one of the impressive buildings with its dignity and sublimity, having large square piers and grand arches. It has a very proportionate dome, "not Sarcenic in origin", and the interior of the mosque is plain. Its central *mihrab* is lavishly painted in rich colours like gold, green and red. "No subsequent building is equal to this one for its perfect proportions", says Dr. Cousens. Malika Jahan Begum's mosque has free use of sculptured work in stone as its speciality. Its minute tracery has been a subject of praise. In Kali Masjid at Lakshmeshwar, a fine synthesis of the Hindu and Muslim workmanship is achieved, and it has fine hanging stone chains and elegant minarets. Anda Masjid has two storeys, the lower portion of which is used for residential purposes.

Ibrahim Rauza consists of twin buildings, standing on an elevated platform, supported by a series of arches. One of them is a mosque and the other a tomb, and they stand facing each other with a wide open space in between. Each of these buildings is square in plan with four minarets at the corners and a bulbous dome at the centre, surmounted by a finial resembling a *kalasha*. The dome emerges from lotus petals. The central chamber of the tomb has its walls and pillars profusely decorated by calligraphic, floral and geometric designs. The whole composition is "an enrapturing feast to

the eye of an art lover". Dr. Cousens has called the Rauza "the Taj Mahal of the Deccan". Fergusson terms it as "far excelling anything of the sort on this side of the Hellespont", and that its splendour would be "difficult to match in any part of the world". Havell has pointed out that its design is similar to that Taj of Mahal.

The Rauza was completed in 1626 by Ibrahim II, and his successor Muhammad wanted to build something excelling the Rauza. Thus was raised Gol Gumbuz, a gigantic building, occupying a space of 18,000 square feet area. It is a work in the *pancharatna* style, a square building with a large dome surmounting it at the centre and four minarets at the corners, which are seven storeyed and octagonal. Its walls have a restrained dignity, and it has tall arches to support the vast central dome. The square changes itself into an octagon and finally a circle to support the bulbous dome, whose bottom is a circle with a diameter of 124 feet. It is the fourth biggest dome in the world, and the largest in India. The dome is 90 feet deep and is open at the bottom with a striking pendant at the centre. The dome, at the exterior here, also emerges from lotus petals, and each petal is about 12 feet tall. The inner part of the dome has a "whispering gallery", a feature that has baffled the imagination of many a visitor. The fantastic size of the building with its impressive minarets and the parapet connecting them on the roofing, makes it a memorable monument. It is one of the architectural wonders of the world.

Asar Mahal, the *mihrab* in Jami Masjid and certain pavilions at the village Kumatgi near Bijapur are gorgeously painted. Use of European technique can also be traced in these paintings. Aurangzeb had the paintings in Asar Mahal white-washed. Bijapur is one of the great centres of artistic activity in Karnataka, and Karnataka owes a lot to this Muslim dynasty for its contributions in the field of art.

THE MUGHULS IN KARNATAKA

The first Mughul occupations in Karnataka were in 1657 when Emperor Shah Jahan's administrator in the Deccan, Aurangzeb, invaded the Bijapur territory and conquered the forts of Kalyana and Bidar, and these forts became parts of the Mughul Empire permanently. The next major event was the conquest of the Bijapur kingdom by Emperor Aurangzeb in October 1686. This was followed by his effort to conquer the southern districts of the Bijapur territory which were in the hands of the Marathas, the region around Bangalore. The various feudatories of Bijapur in Karnataka like the Dafaes of Jatt and the Ghorpades of Mudhol submitted themselves to the Mughuls.

Aurangzeb appointed his son Kambaksh administrator of the Bijapur province. This prince continued in Bijapur till 1708. The Mughul army conquered Anegundi and Harapana-halli and levied tribute on Chitradurga. Sira became a centre of Mughul province in 1687, over which Kasim Khan was appointed governor. In July 1687, Kasim Khan captured Bangalore from Ekoji Bhosle, and later handed over it to Mysore after collecting Rs. three lakhs from Chikkadevaraya.

In November 1687 Surapur (Shorapur) was subdued after defeating Rama Nayaka, its chieftain. But next year the Nayaka died, and his adopted son, Pidda Nayaka, revolted against the Mughuls. His Vaginagera fort was subdued by Aurangzeb with heavy casualties in his own army in 1692. But Pidda escaped. Later Aurangzeb issued a *farman* pardoning the heroic Nayaka and treated him with respect. He was granted the *sardeshmukhi* of Nasaratgad. In the North Karnataka area, administrative arrangements of the Adilshahis were continued.

Far in the South, Doddaballapur was captured from the Marathas in 1689, as testified by a Persian inscription of Aurangzeb at the place. The Mughul province of Sira included territories like Basavapattana, Budihalu, Doddaballapura

Hoskote, Kolara and Sira *paraganas* and Kasim Khan was Fauzdar Divan of this region. Later Kasim Khan was killed at Dodderi by Maratha commander Santaji Ghorpade in 1695, and the next year another Mughul commander Himmat Khan was also assassinated at Basavapatna by Ghorpade. These defeats in Karnataka at the hands of the Marathas were severe blows to the prestige of the Mughuls.

In the Mughul conflict with Keladi Chennammaji, though the queen was not completely subdued, she was forced to pay tribute. This is noted in the next chapter. The commanders of Aurangzeb, including his son, who were either lazy or corrupt, did not show the same enthusiasm as the Emperor in these campaigns.

Zulfikar Khan, who had been chasing Maratha Rajaram, had to lend his support to the chieftain of Turayur in Tamilnadu as the latter had been attacked by the Mysore army in 1698. But the Mysore army had an upper hand in this engagement. The next year itself, Chikkadevaraya of Mysore sent an embassy to Aurangzeb and courted his alliance. Aurangzeb too was eager to have a friendly alliance, as his chief adversaries in the South, the Marathas had been ably challenged by the Mysore prince. As Rajaram had escaped to Satara in 1699 from Jinji, the Mughul activities were concentrated in Maharashtra. Otherwise, Aurangzeb would not have spared Mysore for long.

After the death of Kasim Khan, Sheik Farid was appointed Fauzdar divan of the Sira province (1695) and it was he who built the beautiful mosque at Sira in the Mughul style. In 1713 Amin Khan was appointed Sira Nawab. Darga Kuli Khan became his successor in 1720, and he has been called subedar of Sira. When Sira Suba was brought under the control of the Nawab of Arcot, Dilavar Khan was the Nawab of Sira (1742-45).

When Emperor Farrukshiar appointed Nizam-ul-mulk as officer in charge of the Deccani *subas* of the Mughuls, he had

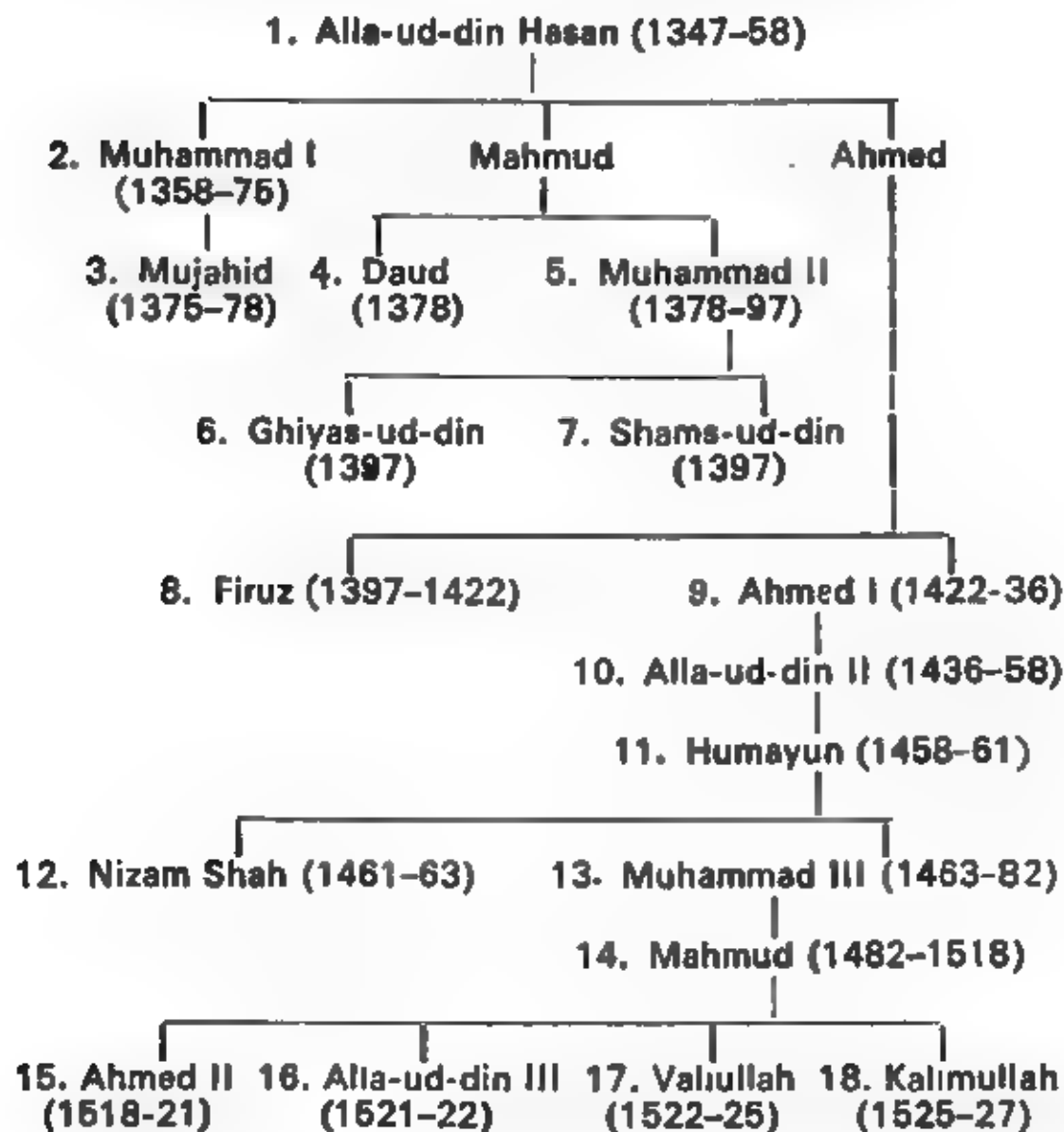
under him, the Nawab of Arcot, looking after the Carnatic Suba. The Arcot Nawab had under him four minor Nawabs, of whom those of Savanur, Sira and Adavani were from Karnataka. The Nawab of Arcot levied tribute on Krishnaraja I of Mysore in 1724 after laying siege to Srirangapattana and subduing the king. Haider later occupied Sira, and the Mughul rule over the *suba* ended. The Nawab of Savanur switched over his loyalty from Hyderabad to the Marathas.

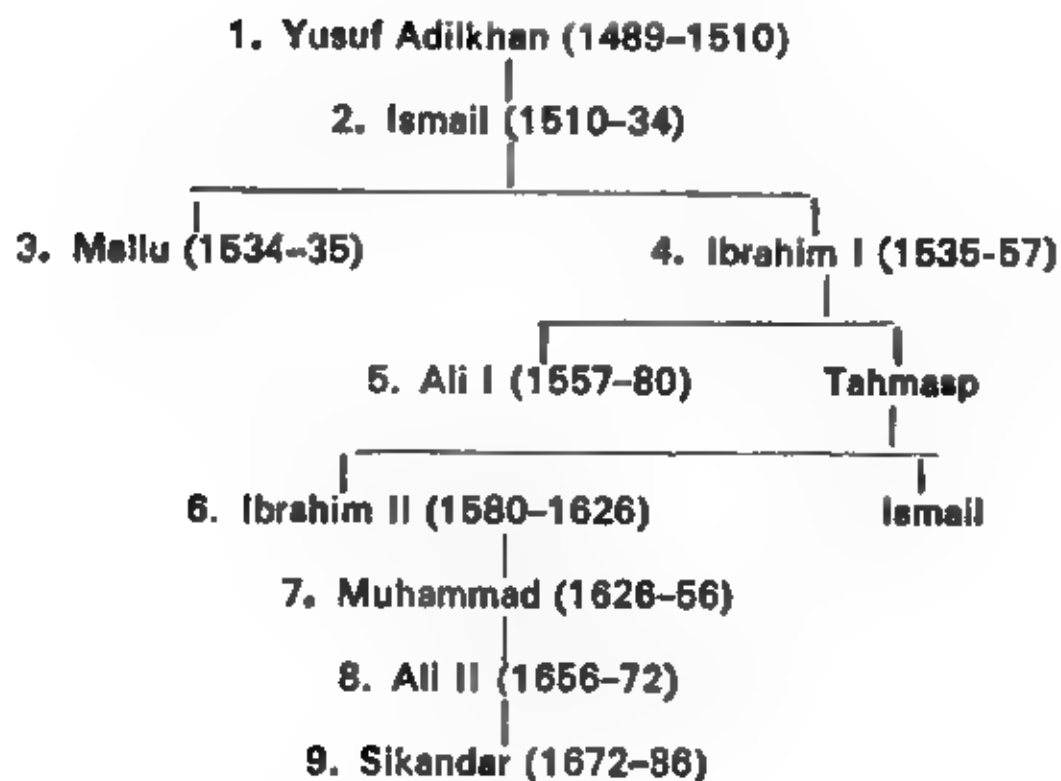
Major parts of Karnataka that were under the Nizam of Hyderabad were conquered by the Marathas and Mysore. The Bijapur and Bidar region was conquered by the Peshwa in 1760. The Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab fell in the hands of Haider. When Tipu was defeated in 1792, Gulbarga, Raichur and Bidar areas were handed over to the Nizam, according to the Treaty of Srirangapattana. In 1853, the Nizam handed over Raichur area to the British, and subsequently, it was returned to him in 1857. The Surapur region, secured by the British after the defeat and suicide of Venkatappa Nayaka in 1858, was handed over to the Nizam and it became a part of the Gulbarga District.

Though the Mughul control over Karnataka ended by the middle of the 18th century, the two remnants of their activity in Karnataka were the Nawab of Savanur and the Nizam of Hyderabad who became tributaries of the British. Savanur was merged with the Indian Union in 1947 and became a part of Dharwad District. The three Kannada districts under the Nizam, viz., Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur came to be merged with the Indian Union in 1948, after the Police Action. Later they were included in Karnataka in 1956.

The Athara Kacheri, founded by Chikkadevaraya in Mysore, is believed to be in imitation of the Mughul tradition. The entrance of the Jami Masjid at Bijapur built by Aurangzeb and a few buildings at Sira still remind one of the rule of the Mughuls in Karnataka. The buildings of Tipu at Srirangapattana also are in this style.

GENEALOGY OF THE BAHMAN SHAHIS



ADILSHAHIS

CHAPTER XI

KELADI AND MYSORE KINGDOMS

The Keladi Nayakas: Of the successors of Vijayanagara in Karnataka, the Nayakas of Keladi have a prominent place. Initially they were subordinates of Vijayanagara and assumed freedom after the fall of the empire. Their rule continued till 1763 when they were overthrown by Haider Ali. The whole district of Shimoga, major parts of North Kanara, the whole of South Kanara, the northern parts of Cannanore District in modern Kerala, parts of Tumkur, Chitradurga, Dharwad, Coorg and Hassan Districts and the whole of Chikmagalur District were included in their kingdom.

Linganna's *Keladinripavijayam* a quasi-historical Kannada *champu* work, *Shivatattvaratnakara* a Sanskrit encyclopaedia and a large number of inscriptions are the main source of information on the history of the dynasty. The Portuguese documents in the Goa Archives, the English documents of the Tellichery factory preserved in the Bombay Archives, the Marathi documents of the Marathas, the sources on Mysore and the Adilshahi kingdoms, and the accounts of foreigners like Pietro Della Valle, an Italian, Peter Mundy, John Fryer and Alexander Hamilton, all Englishmen, are other major sources of information.

Choudappa, a Lingayat chieftain from Keladi, a feudatory of Vijayanagara, was the founder of the dynasty (1499). The first ruler of the dynasty was Sadashiva Nayaka, son of Choudappa, who became prominent by his services in the Vijayanagara army. He came to the throne in 1530 and was endowed with the provinces of Chandragutti, Barakuru and Mangalore by the Vijayanagara emperors for his heroic deeds at the time of the imperial army storming the fort of Kalyana. He was conferred with the title Kotekolahala (destroyer of forts)

by Ramaraya of Vijayanagara. He repaired the Rameshwara Temple at Keladi, from which place he shifted his capital to Ikkeri in 1560. He was succeeded by his son Sankanna Nayaka in c. 1566 and he appears to have been dethroned by his younger brother, Chikkasankanna in 1570. Chikkasankanna took advantage of the loose control Vijayanagara had over its northern provinces after the fall of Vijayanagara city in 1565, and subdued the rulers of Gerasoppa and Sode, two feudatories of the empire. He resisted the efforts of the Bijapur army, led by Salabat Khan to subdue the kingdom. Chikkasankanna's nephew, Ramaraja Nayaka, son of Doddasankanna, was joint ruler with his uncle. Later he became an independent ruler in 1580, when he appears to have killed his uncle.

He was succeeded by Hiriya Venkatappa Nayaka, his own brother in 1586. He was one of the great rulers in the dynasty. Dr. K. N. Chitnis calls him "the ablest and the greatest among the crowned heads that ever sat on the throne of Keladi". He became completely independent of his overlord, the Vijayanagara emperor, and his kingdom expanded in all directions during his time. Pietro Della Valle who visited his kingdom in 1623 gives us a detailed account of his kingdom and he calls him a "good soldier". This Italian had come in the company of a Portuguese diplomatic party from Goa. Venkatappa had developed regular diplomatic relations with the Portuguese. Venkatappa merged into his kingdom, Gerasoppa and Haduvalli being jointly ruled by Chennabhairadevi, "the Queen of Pepper", in 1599. In the South, he reached as far as Chandragiri on the coast, subduing all the Jaina chieftains in South Kanara who included Bairarasa, Banga and Chauta. He defeated the Portuguese with the help of the Chauta queen, Abbakka, whom those foreigners were harassing. Above the Ghats, he defeated the ruler of Beluru (Balam) and Basavapattana. He also vanquished the Adilshahi army and erected a pillar of victory at Hanagal in Dharwad District.

He was a religious-minded ruler who made many endowments and constructed many temples. Though a Lingayat, he gave munificent grants to religious centres of other sects and they included a temple of the Ramanuja sect and a mosque. He also helped the renovation of the famous Chandranatha basadi at Mudabidire and the Mukambika temple at Kolluru. He patronised scholars like Tirumalabhatta who composed *Shivagita*, a Kannada poem and Bhattoji Dikshita who wrote *Tattva Kaustubha*, a Sanskrit work. Ashvapandita wrote *Manapriya*, a work connected with the taming of horses, in Sanskrit during his time. He also built a theatre in his capital.

He was succeeded by his grandson, Virabhadra Nayaka, son of Bhadrappa, in 1629 and he had to face wide-spread rebellions in South Kanara after the death of Venkatappa. He had also to face a rival claimant to the throne in Virappa, son of Ramaraja Nayaka, who started ruling from Cundapur. He caused trouble to Bhadrappa at least till 1639. In 1637 he had to face an invasion of the Bijapur army led by Ranadulla Khan to whom he paid tribute. A British embassy led by Peter Mundy came to the capital and secured permission for opening a factory at Bhatkal in 1637. He transferred the capital to Bidanur in 1639.

His successor, Shivappa Nayaka, a grandson of Chikkasankanna, who came to the throne in 1645, must be considered the greatest among the Keladi rulers.

Shivappa Nayaka : A great soldier and statesman, Shivappa Nayaka has been also remembered as an able administrator and patron of literature. As Shrirangaraya III of Vijayanagara lost Velluru and became "an emperor without an empire", Shivappa Nayaka gave him shelter at Beluru after having defeated the Palegar of Balam (Aiguru) and having wrested his territory. The Portuguese, who had their factories at Mangalore, Cundapur and Honnavar, and who were proving to be a menace to the peace and tranquility of the Keladi kingdom, were ousted from these ports completely by him in

1652. They were thus forced to come to terms with the kingdom at a later date. He secured complete control over the Kannada coast and led victorious campaigns till Nileshvara and installed a pillar of victory at that place. He also built forts at Chandragiri, Bekala and Mangalore. He reconquered the forts of Ikkeri, Soraba, Mahadevapura and Udugani from the Adil-shahi occupation. The pategars of Sode, Bilgi, Belagutti and Tarikere also came to be subdued. Parts of modern Coorg also were occupied by him, and in 1659, in continuation of the traditional hostility with Mysore, he marched as far as Srirangapattana and laid siege to this enemy capital. But he was forced to withdraw as an epidemic broke out in his army and he also suffered from it.

He was a religious-minded ruler and performed many sacrifices like Vajapeya according to Bramanical rites. He continued the patronage extended to Sringeri Matha. He expanded the capital city, Bidanur, and encouraged various mercantile communities like the Konkani, Komatis and others to come and settle down at the new capital. He encouraged Christians to migrate from Goa and settle down in his territory. But he insisted on appointment of local priests. A foreign visitor says that there were 6,000 Christians in Keladi kingdom in 1657. He granted them lands as he knew that they were good cultivators, well acquainted with modern methods.

The most notable among his works is his revenue settlement, popularly known as the *sist*. This has been compared to Akbar's revenue settlement. Land was divided into five kinds, depending upon the fertility of the soil and the availability of irrigational facilities. Every type of land having one khanduga of sowing capacity was taken into account as the measuring unit and the highest and the lowest rate for that unit was fixed in each of the five categories. In every village, a piece of each kind of these lands was cultivated by way of experiment and the yield ascertained for fixing the rate. The rate at which the assessment was fixed is said to have

been a third of the gross produce. In areca plantations, the assessment was fixed after ascertaining the output of the areca plants that were grown in the royal plantations. It is stated that Shivappa Nayaka did not allow even a piece of land of the size of the "footprint of a cow" to remain fallow. This indicates the great interest he had shown in extending agriculture. His revenue settlement has been later praised by British officials like Francis Buchanan and Rice. He founded a *matha* at Varanasi where a picture of his has been discovered.

He was succeeded by his younger brother Chikkavenkatappa Nayaka who ruled from 1660 to 1662, followed by Shivappa's son Bhadrappa in 1662. Bhadrappa conquered many territories from Mysors which included Chikkanayakanahalli in the East and places like Honnavalli, Kandikere and Budivala. He cultivated friendly relations with the Dutch who founded a factory at Basrur. He had to face an expedition led by Bahol Khan and Shahji, the Bijapur commanders in 1663. They collected tribute from him. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Somasekhara, during whose period Shivaji plundered Basrur. He warred against Mysore and secured the forts of Kanatturu and Beluru. He maintained friendly relations with the European powers, the Dutch, who had a factory at Basrur; the English who founded a factory at Bhatkal; and the Portuguese who opened their factories again in 1670 at Mangalore, Honnavar and Cundapur from where they had been driven out by Shivappa. Somasekhara turned mad during the latter part of his reign, and he was murdered in 1677. His queen, Chennamma, took the reins of administration in her hands. Many loyal commanders of the kingdom opposed her and a rival claimant to the throne also appeared on the scene. The valorous queen left the capital, took shelter in the distant Bhuvanagiridurga and consolidated her position from that place. She won over some commanders and suppressed others including the rival claimant. Prof. Sirdesai has suggested that she had secured the help of Shivaji against her opponents.

She reconquered the forts secured by her internal rivals. She later defeated the ruler of Sode. The Mysore commander Kumarayya who had invaded the Keladi territory in the company of the Nayaka of Aiguru (Beluru) was also defeated near Hassan. The fort of Vastare was wrested from Mysore. She allied herself with Sambhaji, Shivaji's son, and the Qutbshah of Golconda, and warred against Mysore at Banavara (1682). But she was defeated by the Mysore army.

One of the important events of her reign was her giving shelter to Maratha Chatrapati Rajaram, who was being chased by the Mughul army. She provided him escort and helped him to reach the fort of Jinji. This resulted in her incurring the displeasure of the Mughuls. Though the Keladi sources claim a victory for her against the Mughuls, we know from the Portuguese sources that she had to surrender three forts to them and pay a fine of 18 lakh varahas. This she paid to the Mughuls in three annual instalments.

She was succeeded by her adopted son, Basavappa, in 1697. He was a heroic ruler and also a scholar. He reconquered Chandragiri port from the Malayalis, and Arakalagudu, Aiguru and Sakleshpura from Mysore. In the North, he defeated the Nawab of Savanur, the Mughul administrator, and secured many forts from him. He compiled a Sanskrit encyclopaedia, *Shivatattvaratnakara*.

His son, Somashekhara II succeeded him in 1714 and he had to face a siege of Bajirao Peshwa in 1727. He paid tribute to the Marathas. His nephew, Kiriya Basavappa, succeeded him in 1739 and one of his major achievements was his killing of Madakari Nayaka of Chitradurga in 1748 at the battle of Mayakonda. The Marathas continued to harass him and there were many depredations of the Maratha commanders in his territory. This became a drain on the Keladi treasury. After his death in 1754, his adopted son, Chennabasavappa, succeeded him. But Basavappa's widow, Virammaji took the reins of administration in her hands. Aliraja of Cannanore and the Marathas continued their depredations in the Keladi kingdom

which disturbed agriculture and commercial activity. Virammaji plotted against Chennabasavappa and had him murdered in 1757. She adopted another young man, Somashekhara, but she personally ran the Keladi administration. She was a successful administrator. In the year 1763 Haider, with the help of Nayakas of Chitradurga, completely subdued the Keladi kingdom and took the queen and Somashekhara captive. The Keladi dynasty came to an end and its territory merged with Mysore.

Keladi rulers were followers of the Veerashaiva religion. But they patronised all religious sects. The temples at Subrahmanya and Kolluru and Shringeri Matha were recipients of rich grants from them. They founded many *agharas* for brahmins and made munificent grants. Innumerable Lingayat monasteries came to be founded by them, and they became centres of learning and feeding the poor. Jaina, Muslim and Christian religions also came to be patronised. A church at Mangalore was constructed on a site donated by Chennammaji. The Chandranatha Basti at Mudabidire also received grants at their hands. They helped the founding of a mosque at Bhuvanagiri and other places, which also came to be endowed.

In administration, they continued the traditions of Vijayanagara with only minor changes. The administrative units of Vijayanagara period were retained. The revenue settlement of Shivappa is already described. They also built temples at Keladi, Ikkery, Kolluru and other places. They closely followed the Vijayanagara style of architecture with a few changes as required by local needs. The open *mantapas* of Vijayanagara style are included in the Keladi style by pierced windows as a protection against torrential rain of the Malenadu region. The sculpture of a lotus and Gandabherunda on the ceiling of the Virabhadra Temple at Keladi are remarkable. Gandabherunda was their royal insignia.

Having had control over the rich Malenadu area and the long sea coast, the Keladi rulers could command a rich overseas trade, conducted through the numerous ports like Ullala,

Mangalore, Basruru, Bhatkal, Honnavara, Ankola and Mirjan. The Europeans like the Dutch, the English and the Portuguese vied with one another in buying their forest products like pepper and other spices, sandalwood and rice. Constant rivalry with Mysore and the depredations of the Marathas weakened Keladi. Internal dissensions further weakened this rich kingdom. It finally fell to Haider. The Marathas, who were worsted at Panipat in 1761, could not protect this tributary of theirs when Haider invaded and devoured the kingdom in 1763.

THE ODEYARS OF MYSORE

The royal family of Mysore claims to belong to the family of the Yadavas from Dvaraka and that it had started its rule from 1399 itself. But its sovereign rule started only from the 16th century. Initially the Mysore rulers were subordinates of Vijayanagara and later when they became independent, they came to have control over southern Karnataka and parts of Tamilnadu. In the days of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, they came to have control over major parts of Karnataka and parts of Andhra, Tamilnadu and Kerala.

Source material for the study of the history of Mysore is vast and variegated. It includes a large number of inscriptions, written records in the Mysore palace, literary works like *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam*, *Chikadevarajabinnapam*, *Chikadevaraja Vamshavali*, *Keladinripavijayam* and other literary works. On Haider and Tipu there is a fund of information preserved in the Persian, French, Portuguese, English, Kannada and Marathi languages. *Nishan-i-Heidari* by Kirmani is one such important Persian work.

The first ruler mentioned in the annals of the Mysore royal family is Yaduraya whose rule started from 1399. He was succeeded by Bettada Chamaraja, Timmaraja Odeya, Chamaraja Odeya II and Bettada Chamaraja Odeya III in succession. The

last named was the contemporary of Krishnadevaraya. His son, Timmaraja II defeated many neighbouring chieftains and assumed the title 'Birudantembaraganda'. He was followed by Chamaraja IV (also known as Chamaraja the Bald), Bettada Chamaraja Odeya V and Raja Odeya. The last named succeeded to the throne in 1578 when his elder brother, Chamaraja V, vacated the throne.

Raja Odeya was the first great ruler of the dynasty who ousted the Vijayanagara governor stationed at Srirangapattana from the place and captured the town. He made Srirangapattana his capital. He conquered Saraguru, Heggadadevanakote, Ramasamudra, Muguru, Kikkeri and other surrounding regions and expanded his territory. The throne of the Vijayanagara governor at Srirangapattana fell into his hands and Raja Odeya began to use it for his darbar. The temples at Srirangapattana and Melukote were renovated and expanded by him. He "was the first sovereign of Mysore to impress upon his contemporaries that the ruling family of Mysore was a factor to be taken account of", says M. Sama Rao.

His grandson, Chamaraja VI, succeeded him and expanded the kingdom by including Chennapattana. It reached Nangamangala and Malavalli in the north during his time. He was a scholar and *Ramayana* came to be translated by him with the title Chamarajoktivilasa in Kannada. His uncle, Raja Odeya II (a posthumous son of Raja Odeya I) who succeeded him in 1637 was killed by Dalavayi Vikramaraya. He was succeeded by Kanthirava Narasaraja, son of Bettada Chamaraja V.

Kanthirava Narasaraja was a great ruler of the Mysore royal family. Govinda Vaidya who wrote *Kanthirava Narasarajavijayam*, a Kannada *champu* work, has compared him to God Narasimha in valour. The Vijayanagara Empire had completely vanished during his time and he was the first ruler who was completely sovereign, free from even nominal allegiance to the Empire. He issued kanthirayis, the first gold coins of Mysore, resembling the Vijayanagara coins.

He was known for his strong physique and talent in swordsmanship. He killed Vikramaraya, the insolent *dalavayi*, soon after coming to the throne. He had to face the huge army of Bijapur, led by Ranadullah Khan which laid siege to Srirangapattana in c. 1638. But Ranadullah did not succeed in subduing Mysore and he was forced to return. Narasaraja captured Kaveripuram, Turuvekere, Periyapattana, Bettadapura, Rudrapattana, Kadaba, Basavapattana and Yelahanka and thus the Mysore kingdom witnessed unprecedented expansion during his time. His kingdom extended upto Satyamangala in the South-East, Bettadapura in the West, Arakalgudu in the North-West and Hosuru in the North-East. He constructed the Narasimha temple at Srirangapattana. Bangaradoddi canal of his period demonstrates his regard for irrigation. Govinda Vaidya, Bhaskara (work: *Baharaganita*) and Timmarasa (*Markandeyaramayana*) were some of the Kannada writers patronised by him.

He was succeeded by Doddadevaraja, a grandson of Chamaraja IV. Keladi Shivappa Nayaka who laid siege to Srirangapattana during his time, was driven back by him. The Nayaka of Madurai who invaded his territory, had to lose Erode and Dharapura to Mysore. Huliurudurga, Chikkanayakanahalli and Kunigalu were acquired by him.

He was responsible for laying the steps up the Chamundi Hill at Mysore and the installation of the great Nandi midway up the steps. Poet Chamayya wrote *Doddadevaraya Sangatya* on him.

Chikkadevaraja : Doddadevaraya's nephew (brother's son). Chikkadevaraja, came to the throne in 1673. He is the greatest among the early rulers of Mysore and during his period the kingdom witnessed further expansion. He conquered Tumkuru and Hosakote and descending the Eastern Ghats, major parts of Salem District. From the Keladi rulers he annexed Hasana, Banavara, Vastare and Chikkamagaluru. When Shivaji laid siege to Srirangapattana and plundered it in 1677, he did

not wait for a pitched battle with Chikkadevaraja. He hurried to the North. Chikkadevaraja claims to have defeated Shivaji and assumed the title Apratimavira. But this appears to be an empty boast. Later he defeated the Marathas of Jinji who had invaded his territory and killed their commanders like Jaitaji Katkar and Dadaji Kakde and this was followed by his defeat of the combined armies of Sambhaji, Keladi and Golkonda at Banavara in 1682. Kengeri, Chikkanahalli, Tyamagondlu and Kandikere which belonged to the Maratha *jahgir* of Bangalore were conquered by him. Ekoji, who had left Bangalore and had settled down at Tanjore found it difficult to retain the Bangalore *jahgir* intact due to the encroachment of Chikkadevaraya. He decided to sell Bangalore to the Mysore ruler in 1687 for a consideration of Rs. three lakhs. Chikkadevaraya secured Bangalore in 1687, but not from Ekoji, but from the Mughuls, who had occupied it.

Chikkadevaraya cultivated friendly relations with the Mughuls. Aurangzeb, who had conquered Bijapur, was marching southwards. The Mughuls must have considered the Mysore prince a useful ally against the Marathas. Chikkadevaraya claims to have defeated the Marathas in a number of wars and assumed the title "Maharashtrabhupalajalaripu". He had sent an embassy to the camp of Aurangzeb in 1699 and the Mughul Emperor conferred the title "Raja Jagadev" on him.

He was not only a valorous king, but was also an able administrator. He founded the central secretariat with 18 departments known as *atharakacheri*. Taxes were collected so efficiently and economy was introduced in administration with so much care that Chikkadevaraya succeeded in accumulating a large amount of reserve fund which exceeded nine crores of pagodas. He assumed the title Navakotinarayana. But the administrative institutions of the Vijayanagara days were continued.

He erected a dam across the Kaveri and provided large-scale irrigational facilities. He was a religious-minded monarch who constructed the Venkataramana Temple in the Bangalore Fort and the Shvetavaraha Temple in Mysore. He was a Shrivaisnava and he composed *Chikkadevarajabinnapam*, a poem in praise of Cheluvanarayanawamy of Melukote. He was a great patron of poets and scholars. Tirumalarya, his minister Tirumalarya's brother Singararya, Chikkupadhyaya, Sanchi Honnamma, Shringamma and many other poets and poetesses adorned his court. It was a period of great literary activity in Kannada. The Shrivaisnavas made substantial contribution to Kannada literature during his time. Laksmisha, the noted Kannada poet, is described by some as his contemporary. He died in 1704 succeeded by his son Kanthirava Narasaraja II, who was dumb. The period of six decades that followed the death of Chikkadevaraya was of kings who allowed their Dalavayis to gain greater control over the administration.

Krishnaraja I, son of Narasaraja II, who came to the throne in 1713 had to pay a tribute of one crore of rupees to the Nawab of Arcot and Murarirao Ghorpade of Gutti who laid siege to Srirangapattana in 1724. This was followed by the campaigns of Bajirao I who collected a tribute of Rs. 21 lakhs from Mysore. Capture of Magadi and taking its ruler Kempegouda captive was one important achievement of this prince. Dalavayi Nanjarajayya and his brother Devarajayya who became powerful during the days of Krishnadevaraja I, put the next ruler Chamaraja VII in confinement and took the reins of administration in their own hands. When he died in 1734, Queen Devajammanni, wife of Krishnaraja I, adopted prince Krishnaraja II who was crowned in 1734. Haider Ali, who was a commander in the army of Nanjarajayya, later became powerful. The Marathas invaded Mysore in 1753 and again 1757. The Mysore ruler had to pay a large amount by way of compensation, Rs. 30 lakhs in 1753 and Rs. 32 lakhs in 1757, to them. When Dalavayi Nanjarajayya could not pay the whole amount in 1757, he pledged 13 taluks in the kingdom to

the Marathas. When the Marathas invaded Mysore in 1758 to collect the dues, Haider defeated them and recaptured Bangalore from them. Pleased by his action, the Mysore darbar conferred on him the title Nawab Haider Ali Khan Bahadur. From this date Haider was in ascendancy and the Mysore ruler was relegated to the background.

Krishnaraja II died in 1766, and was succeeded by Nanjaraja who was ruler only in name.

HAIDER ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

Haider Ali is a notable figure in Karnataka history. He came to power by his sheer abilities and expanded the Mysore kingdom on an unprecedented scale. By their resistance against the British, he and his son became personages of world renown.

Haider was an ordinary captain in the army of Dalavayi Nanjaraja. He rose to eminence during the storming of Devanahalli in 1749, when he demonstrated his daring and talent. Later, in 1751, during the war fought near Jinji in connection with Arcot succession, Haider was sent in the contingent from Mysore, which had gone to support Nizam Nasir Jung. When Nasir Jung was killed, Haider managed to secure two camels laden with gold coins from the Nizam's mobile treasury. This gave him the necessary capital for his future career as a militarist. Later he was appointed Foudar at Dindigal. When the Marathas came to collect their dues in 1758, Haider defeated them and reconquered Bangalore which had been pledged to them for arrears of tribute. He was honoured by the king for this. There arose a crisis in the capital, and the army of Mysore had been restive due to their pay falling in arrears. Haider took advantage of the situation to assume power as *dalavayi*, after retiring Nanjarajayya. By 1761, he was the most powerful figure in the Mysore court with all political powers in his hands. The political crisis that

developed in Mysore inevitably led to this state of affairs. "Nothing but the vigour of Haider's rule could have saved Mysore at that time from her internal and external crises and preserved her independence and integrity". He became the *karyakarta* of the kingdom and later king Krishnaraja Odeyar II (1734-66) was relegated to the background fully.

The defeat of the Marathas at Panipat (1761) rid Mysore of the Maratha menace temporarily. Haider secured Sira in 1762. The internal troubles in the Keladi kingdom helped Haider to capture it in 1763. The Marathas, whose ally the Keladi kingdom was, could not come to the latter's succour during this critical hour as they were licking the wounds of Panipat. This was followed by the capture of Sode (Svadi) and Bilgi by Haider. The capture of the Keladi capital, Bidanur laid a vast booty at his disposal, and this helped him in all his future ventures. He proceeded against Gutti near Anantpur, humiliated its Maratha chief, Ghorpade, defeated the Savanur Nawab, and extended his boundaries beyond the Tungabhadra to Dharwad.

But the Maraths defeated him in 1765 and again in 1766. Gutti was returned to Ghorpade. Haider agreed to pay tribute (*khandani*) to the Marathas. Soon Haider came into conflict with the British due to his expansionist activities in Tamilnadu. "It would be a mistake to think that Haider was anti-British from the beginning" says N. K. Sinha. In fact, he points out that Haider had even offered to the British a defensive alliance against the Marathas and the Nizam. But the Marathas, the Nizam and the English had already aligned themselves against him. The First Anglo-Mysore War that broke out in 1767 resulted in the rout of the British upto the gates of Madras in 1769. A treaty was concluded. But, later when the Marathas invaded Mysore, and defeated Haider in 1771, the British did not come to his help as agreed upon in 1769. In the meanwhile Haider had subdued Coorg in 1772, and captured Chitradurga, another rich principality in 1779. Major parts of

Karnataka upto Dharwad and Bellary, parts of Tamilnadu and Kerala came under his control. He befriended the French.

When Krishnaraja Odeya II died in 1766, and his son Nanjaraja Odeya became his successor, Haider confiscated the royal *jahgir*, given for the Raja's maintenance, and all the cash and valuables in the palace. The prince became a virtual prisoner till his death in 1770. He was followed by Chamaraja VIII (1770-76), his elder brother.

In 1780, Haider joined the confederacy formed against the English. The confederacy consisted of Mysore, the Marathas and the Nizam. Haider dashed into Tamilnadu like an "impetuous torrent" and had an upper hand in the war. But his other allies soon deserted him. He was isolated. Haider died in December 1782, when this Second Anglo-Mysore War was going on. His son, Tipu continued the war.

Haider's period saw the unprecedented expansion of Mysore territory which more than doubled in size. It was now 80,000 square miles in extent. Its revenue rose to 1,10,000 lakh varahas from 43 lakhs. "Haider was entirely illiterate, though his natural ability and shrewdness enabled him to transact all his business with care and scrutiny" says M. Sama Rao. As a warrior, administrator and statesman, he has carved a place for himself in Karnataka history. His military successes were due to his serious efforts to reform his army. He maintained a large cavalry and this helped quick movement of the army. He had his soldiers trained and drilled by French experts. Though a devoted Muslim, Haider never allowed his religion to interfere with political matters. He was catholic in his outlook. He built *Dariya Daulat* palace at the capital and another palace at Bangalore. Lal Bag gardens at both the places were his creations.

Tipu Sultan : Tipu had led armies and had won many victories for his father during the Second Anglo-Mysore War and even earlier. He continued the war with the British after his father's death. He defeated the British at Wandiwash in

1783. But in the West he lost Bidanur and Mangalore. He concluded a treaty with the British. The French, with whom he was allied, deserted him after the signing of the Versailles Treaty in 1783, ending the American War of Independence.

This was followed by a war against Marathas who occupied Badami in 1786, as a reply to Tipu's action against Nargund. By the peace treaty of 1787, Kittur, Nargund and Badami were returned to the Marathas. Two years later Tipu attacked Travancore, a British ally, and this caused the Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92). After some initial successes, Tipu had to face only reverses, and he came to be besieged in Srirangapattana in March 1792. His territory was reduced to half and he was forced to pay an indemnity. Two of his sons were surrendered as hostages to the British. Tipu felt hurt and humiliated.

But the Sultan was indomitable. He would have no rest till these aliens were ousted from the country. He negotiated with the French, the Amir of Afghanistan and the Sultan of Turkey. He refused to join the Subsidiary Alliance mooted by Lord Wellesley. This caused the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War. The British were joined by the Marathas and the Nizam. Srirangapattana was besieged. Tipu fought heroically and fell (1799). Mysore was reduced to subjection. Tipu's belongings beyond the Tungabhadra and the Western and the Eastern Ghats were retained by the British. The rest of the territory was returned to the successor of the Hindu royal family, Krishnaraja Odeya III, a child.

When Chamaraja VIII, son of Krishnaraja II died in 1776, he was followed by Chamaraja IX, whom Haider had crowned in that year. When this prince died in 1796, Tipu did not appoint a successor and kept the throne vacant. It was the child of this deceased prince, Krishnaraja III, whom the British recognised as the king in 1799.

Tipu was well read, and had a good understanding of the world affairs. He was well-informed about developments in

science. He toiled hard for the prosperity of the State. He was a great innovator and tried to introduce new techniques in crafts and agriculture. To him goes the credit of introducing sericulture in Mysore on a large scale. But in religious matters, he was not catholic, and was rather bigoted. His generous patronage to Hindu temples and maths must have been extended only out of exigency, as he was a usurper, engaged, regularly in wars. But in Coorg, Malabar and Raichur, he resorted to wholesale conversions. He harassed thousands of Christians on the Canara Coast because few of them sided with the British. To a new convert in his kingdom, house tax was exempted and concessions were given in land revenue.

Tipu's Administration : When Tipu assumed administration, the provinces (*asafis*) he had inherited from his father were five in number. But they were not uniform in size. Dr. M. H. Gopal has pointed out that out of the 171 *paraganas* or taluks in these five provinces, the province of Sira had only five taluks in it with a total revenue of two lakh varahas (pagedas), and Srirangapattana had 102 taluks with a total revenue of 17 lakh varahas. In 1796, his kingdom which was slightly more than 62,000 square miles in area, was divided into 37 *asafis* (provinces) with a total of 124 taluks in them. Every *asafi* had one *asaf* (governor) and one deputy *asaf* each. This province was divided into *amil* or taluk, which had an *amildar*. *Simpt* consisting of a group of villages was the next unit and below that was the village, looked after by a patel.

The central government had six départements, viz., military, revenue, commerce, marine, treasury and ordnance. Four ministers looked after these six departments, *mirmiran* being the war minister, *mir asaf* the revenue minister, *mir yem*, the marine minister, and *mullik-ut-tujar* who looked ordnance, marine and treasury. Each minister had an advisory council consisting of two to four members. Dr. Mohibbul Hassan speaks of a seventh minor department called *zumra* for local military.

His army was well-disciplined. It had infantry, cavalry and artillery divisions. He had a navy of 40 ships. Mangalore was the headquarters of his navy, and Cundapur and Tadadi were other centres.

For governmental correspondence he had a well-organised postal system having Srirangapattana, Bangalore, Bidanur, Gutti, Gurramakonda, Chitradurga and Sira as its chief centres. He took great care to foster irrigation. Agriculture was extended by giving fallow lands free of revenue for the first year to willing cultivators. For the second year, only half the revenue was collected. *Takkavi* loans were given to buy ploughs, bullocks etc. Steps were taken to improve livestock.

The traditional taxes and land revenue were continued. He undertook a systematic census, and regular entries of births and deaths were made. There was an annual survey of revenue. The *amilidar*, who was responsible for the collection, was not to exact anything unduly. If the collection was excessive and any villager fled, the officials were fined. The officials were not to indulge in private trade. The *amilidar* was paid a $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ commission on the revenue collected. He founded a state trading department and shops were opened by state to sell consumers' goods. Trade depots were opened in overseas centres like Karachi, Muscat and Jeddah. "Tipu's administration was better and his people happier than those in many contemporary States", says Dr. M. H. Gopal. A British official has called him the "guardian of the people".

Tipu invited expert craftsman from France and tried to introduce improved techniques in smithy, carpentry etc. He did everything to improve the state's economic condition. He encouraged cultivation of sugar-cane, betel leaves, betel nut etc., and even brought Chinese technicians to produce quality sugar.

But during his last years, Tipu appears to have grown more and more high-handed. "Tipu's great drawback was his restless spirit of innovations and the increasing bigotry of his

later years". says Dr. N. K. Sinha. He replaced Kannada and Marathi by Persian in administration. In 1792 he ordered accounts to be kept only in Persian. This resulted in only Muslims being appointed as officials. Not one among his 37 *asafs* was a Hindu in 1798. Not many educated Muslims could be had, and at times the half-literate, who were ignorant of administration, came to be appointed as officials. Their ignorance led to fall in revenue collection, says Kirmani.

On the whole his administration was efficient. "The well-regulated, vigorous government of Haider has become under his son more systematical and more strong", according to Munro.

THE MARATHAS IN KARNATAKA

Bangalore Jahgir : The activities of the Marathas began in Karnataka when Ranadullah Khan, the Bijapur commander, invaded Bangalore in c. 1637. Shahji Bhosle had accompanied him. Bangalore and surrounding regions were granted as *jahgir* to Shahji by the Adilshah, and the *jahgir* also included areas like Hosakote, Kolar, Chikkaballapur, Doddaballapura and Sira. Another part of his *jahgir* was in the North at Kanakagiri near Raichur. Shahji ruled like a king and he was given enough autonomy. He built a palace, Gaurimahal in Bangalore. He continued the administrative set-up in the area, founded by Vijayanagara and continued by Kempegouda. He issued his own coins in imitation of the Bijapur coins. He patronised many Sanskrit and Marathi scholars like Jayaram Pindya, Malhari Bhatta and Naropant Hanmante.

Shahji warred against Kanthirava Narasaraja of Mysore a number of times, but did not succeed in gaining anything. When Shahji was taken captive by the Bijapur army (1648) as his son Shivaji had revolted in Maharashtra, Kanthirava captured Magadi from Kempegouda, a feudatory of Bijapur. Shahji could not help the latter as he himself was in prison at

that time. But later, when Kanthirava attacked another Bijapur feudatory, Jagadevaraya of Chennapattana, Shahji, with the help of another commander, Khan Muhammad, defeated Kanthirava and levied tribute on him.

Later, Shahji went to Kanakagiri and in his absence his sons, Sambhaji and Ekoji, looked after the administration of Bangalore *jahgir*. Shahji died in 1664 at Hodigere near Chennagiri, and his son Ekoji succeeded to the Bangalore *jahgir*.

Ekoji clashed with Doddadevaraya of Mysore in connection with the affairs of Madurai and Erode. Ekoji was defeated together with the Madurai army. This made the Mysore ruler bold, and he started encroaching upon the Bijapur territories in the neighbourhood of Mysore. In 1675, Ekoji conquered Tanjore, and shifted his headquarters to this newly conquered place.

In 1677 Shivaji, who came to the South asking for the share of his father's southern *jahgir*, conquered the whole of the Bangalore *jahgir*. But he later presented Bangalore, Sira and Hosakote to Dipabai, Ekoji's wife, but retained Kolara, Doddaballapura and Chikkaballapura. After Shivaji's death, these regions were inherited by his son Sambhaji whose records are found in the region, including the Nandi Hill Inscription in Sanskrit (1680). Harji Raja Mahadik, Sambhaji's brother-in-law at Jinji, was looking after the administration of these areas till it was conquered by the Mughuls in 1687-89.

After 1677, Chikkadevaraya started encroaching upon the Bangalore *jahgir* of Ekoji. Finally Ekoji decided to sell it to the former for Rs. three lakhs. But before the transactions could be over, Mughul commander Kasim Khan captured Bangalore in 1687, and handed over the city to Chikkadevaraya after four days, collecting money from the latter. Thus before 1690, the Marathas lost their Bangalore *jahgir*, as Sira, Hoskote, Kolara and Doddaballapura fell in the hands of the Mughuls.

Shivaji and Karnataka : Shivaji had stayed in Bangalore as a boy, and scholars like Prof. Shejwalkar have felt that he was inspired from the example of the remains of the Vijayanagara empire at Bangalore in founding his independent Hindu kingdom.

Shivaji had started his activities against Bijapur, and he conducted many campaigns in Karnataka in the Bijapur territory. His commander Palkar plundered Raibag, Gadag and Lakshmeshwar in 1659-60. Shivaji attacked Mudhol in 1664, and killed his father's enemy, Baji Ghorpade, and plundered Khanapur and Mugutkhan Hubli on way back. He also plundered Basruru, Ankola and Karwar in 1665. Later he helped Keladi Chennamaji in a civil war in the Keladi kingdom in 1673. Way back, Shivaji plundered Ankola and Karwar again, and Hubli. On his way to Tanjore in 1677, Shivaji captured the fort of Koppal, which was formerly a part of his father's Kanakagiri *jahgir*. On way back from Tanjore, his capture of Bangalore, and retaining Kolara region have been already noted. Later in 1678, the whole tract of land between the Tungabhadra and the Krishna came under his control. He had to struggle hard to retain the territory till his death in 1680. A Kannada inscription of his at Bhadrapur (Dharwad District) testifies to the fact that he had complete control over the region.

Sambhaji retained control over the Kolara region till his death. In alliance with Keladi, he warred against Mysore to prevent the latter's encroachment over his possessions. Finally he lost this territory in South Karnataka to the Mughuls before his own death.

Peshwa Activity : After the death of Rajaram (1700) many parts in North Karnataka fell to the share of the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. By the Treaty of Warna (1731) the region upto Koppal, and the Kannada coast upto Ankola was handed over to Kolhapur. In 1714 Chhatrapati Shahu of Satara had secured the right of collecting chauth from the six southern

subas from the Mughul Emperor. This gave rise to a series of depredations of the Maraths in Karnataka. The territories to the North of the Tungabhadra were directly under their control, though certain territories were under Kolhapur and others under Satara, and these areas had been the scene of conflict between the two powers for long.

Peshwa Baji Rao conducted two campaigns in Karnataka, one in 1726 upto Chitradurga, and the second upto Srirangapattana in 1727, and collected chauth from all chieftains, big and small on his way. This was followed by the expedition led by Raghuji Bhosle, sent from Poona, who collected tribute from Mysore in 1740. In 1747 Peshwa Nanasaheb (Balaji Rao) sent his cousin Sadashiv Bhau, who levied tribute on all princes upto Keladi. This was followed by the fourth expeditions of Nanasaheb Peshwa. In 1753, he reached Srirangapattana. His second campaign of 1754 was directed against the Keladi kingdom. His third march was against Savanur which was subdued in 1756. Finally, in 1757, he collected tribute from Mysore by again reaching Srirangapattana.

After the defeat of the Marathas at Panipat in 1761, the Marathas could not pay attention to their southern belongings, and Haider Ali subdued Keladi and Sode, the allies of the Marathas in Karnataka, easily. But soon Peshwa Madhav Rao defeated Haider at Anavatti in 1764 and Haider signed a treaty with him in 1766. Madhav Rao conducted a second campaign, and collected tribute from Sira, Doddaballepura and Hosakote. The third campaign undertaken by him in 1769 was cut short, but he sent his commander Tryambak Hari to Srirangapattana where he defeated Haider (at Chinakurli, 1771) and levied a war indemnity on him. The role of the Marathas in the four Anglo-Mysore wars has been already discussed. Haider's power to the South of the Tungabhadra confined the Maratha activity upto that river. Haider and Tipu had captured Dharwad, Nargund and Badami more than once. Haider had even tried to court the alliance of the Marathas of Kolhapur against the Peshwa. But he finally did not gain much.

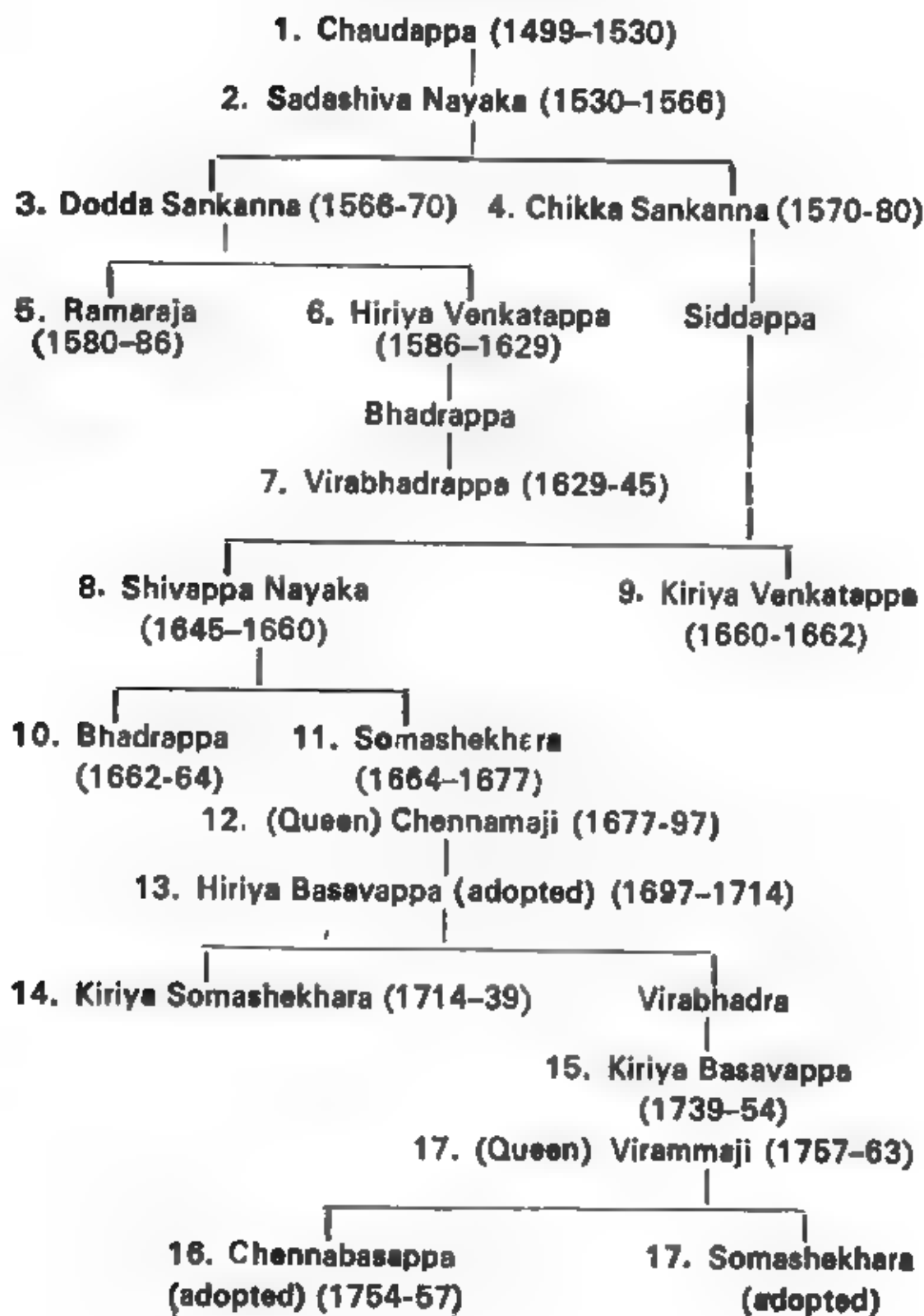
After the fall of Tipu, the Marathas secured the territories to the north of the Tungabhadra. They retained it till 1818, when it was acquired by the British. But many Maratha princes like those of Kagwad, Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Ramdurga, Nargunda, Sonduru, Miraj, Sangli, Akkalkot, Jatt, Kurundwad, Budhgaon, Wadgaon etc., continued to rule over Kannada regions, many of them till 1947.

The rule of the Marathas in Karnataka did not leave behind pleasant memories. They imposed Marathi on the Kannada masses. Their campaigns to collect chauth, followed by the Pindaris, left only bitter memories in Karnataka, and they were considered only as plunderers. The importance gained by the brahmin community in the days of the Peshwas, also made the Maratha administration unpopular.

The rule of the Marathas resulted in Kannada losing its ground for long from public life in regions to the north of the Tungabhadra. The Warkari cult spread in Karnataka, centering round God Vithala of Pandharpur. The impact of leaders like Gokhale and Tilak was easily felt in the North Karnataka region during the present century, due to the area's proximity to Maharashtra. This helped the awakening of national feelings. On the Harijans of North Karnataka, the impact of Dr. Ambedkar was deep and direct.

GENEALOGIES

I Keladi Nayakas



II Mysore

1. Yaduraya (c. 1399-1423)
2. (Bettada) Chamaraja I
3. Timmaraja I.
4. Chamaraja II.
5. Timmaraja II.
6. (Bettada) Chamaraja III.
7. Chamaraja IV (the Bald).
8. (Bettada) Chamaraja V.
9. Raja Odeya I (1578-1617).
10. Chamaraja VI (1617-37); (grandson of Raja Odeya I).
11. Raja Odeya II (1637-38); (son of Raja Odeya I)
12. Kanthirava Narasaraja (1638-59); (son of Chamaraja V).
13. Dodda Devaraja (1659-73); (grandson of Chamaraja IV).
14. Chikka Devaraja (1673-1704); (brother's son of Dodda Devaraja)
15. Kanthirava Narasaraja II (1704-1714); (son of Chikka Devaraja).
16. (Dodda) Krishnaraja I (1714-32); (son of Narasaraja II).
17. Chamaraja VII (1732-34); (son of Krishnaraja I).
18. Krishnaraja II (1734-68); (adopted by Devajammanni, widow of Krishnaraja I).
19. Nanjaraja (1766-70); (son of Krishnaraja II).
20. (Bettada) Chamaraja VIII (1770-76); (son of Krishnaraja II).
21. Chamaraja IX (1776-96); (adopted by Lakshmi Ammanni, widow of Krishnaraja II).
22. Krishnaraja III (1799-1831); (son of Chamaraja IX).
From 1763 to 1799 Haidar and Tipu ruled in Mysore. In 1799, the throne was returned to Krishnaraja III.

CHAPTER XII

MODERN MYSORE

The throne of Mysore was handed over to Krishnaraja Odeya III, the young prince of the Hindu royal family of Mysore in 1799. He was a boy of five years and the administration was entrusted to Divan Purnayya who had been a minister under Haider and Tipu. A British Resident was appointed at the Mysore court. Mysore state became a subordinate ally of the British and was to pay tribute annually and also a subsidy for maintaining the army stationed in the kingdom by the British.

The kingdom was divided into three divisions by Purnayya, viz, Patna Ashtagrama, Chitradurga and Bidanur. A *subedar* looked after each of these divisions. The civil government was divided into three departments, civil, revenue and miscellaneous, the last including all other branches of work. Revenue was secured from four sources viz., land revenue, duty on goods, and duties on liquors and on tobacco. Plantations were also taxed. Provision was made for advancing *takkavi* loans to peasants. From every family one member was enlisted for the *kandachara* or military. Proper remuneration was paid to them, but only willing persons were recruited.

Purnayya caused the repairing of tanks and canals in the state and also improved them. Nearly 50,000 Kanthirayi pagodas were spent on irrigation by him. A dam was erected at Sagarkatte across the Lakshmanatirtha. "The Diwan seems to pursue the wisest and the most benevolent course for the promotion of industry and opulence", wrote Gen. Wellesley.

When the king attained the age of 16, Purnayya retired (1810). He was granted a *jahgir* at Yelanduru. Gen. Wellesley

had referred to the divan as a man of "extra-ordinary abilities, eminent public zeal, integrity and judgement and energy".

When Krishnaraja Odeya III assumed administration in 1810, he had an advisory council. The administration had the *divan* as its head. The administrative machinery did not undergo any major change. The king received nothing but praise at the hands of all during his initial years. The land revenue which was more than 60 lakhs of rupees in 1811, rose to 71 lakhs by 1816. To improve the revenue collection, a contract system was introduced. The *amildar* or the man in charge of a taluk was made responsible for the collection of certain stipulated amount from each taluk. Certain safeguards were also provided to avoid harassment of the peasants. But the system soon fell into misuse and this caused a lot of unrest among the peasants. It led to the Nagar Insurrection of 1830-31. The unrest spread to Doddaballapura, Huliyaaru and Chikkanayakanahalli and other places. Though the king suppressed the insurrection, he lost his throne. Mysore kingdom came to be annexed by the Company in 1831, accusing the Maharaja of "maladministration and misgovernment". Later the committee of enquiry consisting of four Europeans that was appointed to look into the Nagar Insurrection pointed out that the fall in revenue collection during his time was not due entirely to his administration, but due to reasons beyond his control. Rapacious officials were also responsible for the uprising.

The prince who was a great scholar and a lover of literature spent the rest of his life in literary and artistic pursuits. He encouraged scholars like Kempu Narayana, Aliya Lingaraja, Devachandra and others.

Noted musicians like Mysore Sadasivarao, Venkatasubbayya, Chikkaramappa and Sambayya were patronised by him. It was under Sadasivarao that noted *vine* players like Sheshanna and Subbanna were trained,

RULE OF COMMISSIONERS

The East India Company assumed the administration of Mysore in 1831 and appointed an official called Commissioner to look after its administration. Of the Commissioners who worked in Mysore, Mark Cubbon and Lewin Bowring are the most notable.

Mark Cubbon: Cubbon was appointed Commissioner in 1834 and during his period "Administration of the State was conducted on lines which won universal admiration" says C. Hayavadana Rao. State capital was shifted to Bangalore and Tipu's palace was the first secretariat. Cubbon divided the state into four divisions by creating the new Bangalore division and each division was under one European superintendent. There were 120 taluks in the state each looked after by one *amildar*. Below the *amildar* was an official, *hoblidar* or *shekdar*, looking after a group of villages or one *hobli*. The central office or the Commissioner's Secretariat had nine departments viz., revenue, post, police, *swar*, *maramat*, medical, *amritmahal*, justice and education. Every department had a head. The revenue department had a *sheristedar* as its head performing the duties of the former *divan*. Records were kept only in Kannada at the lower level. Judicials system came to be recognised by establishing 85 taluk courts with some of them having jurisdiction over more than one taluk. There were eight *sadar* munsiff courts, and above them, four superintending courts, one *huzur adalat* and one commissioner's court. Later a judicial commissioner was appointed to reduce the burden of the Commissioner. Separate departments for public works, education, audit and accounts and forest were founded by him in course of time and the *maramat* (public works) department came to be reorganised. All headquarter towns were connected by road with Bangalore to which place the state capital had been shifted. Cubbon was responsible for the laying of the 1,597 miles of new roads with 309 bridges. Telegraph lines of the length of 365 miles were

also laid. Bangalore was connected with Jalarpet by railway (1859). Thus railways were laid for the first time in the state. The total revenue of the state rose from Rs. 68 lakhs in 1834-35 to Rs. 84 lakhs in 1855-56, despite the abolition of 769 minor vexatious taxes by him. The public debt which was Rs. 85 lakh when he assumed office, was completely liquidated in 1857. The annual tribute to the company was also regularly paid. He left Rs. 40 lakhs in the name of the state in British Government securities when he laid down office. He was responsible for the laying of coffee plantations and nearly 1,60,000 acres of plantation existed by the close of his administration.

Cubbon was a great administrator, who put the administrative machinery of Mysore on modern lines. He was responsible for many innovations. "A sound and solid foundation was laid for the progress and prosperity of the people" during his time. He resigned in 1861 and was succeeded by Lewin Bowring in office in 1862.

Lewin Bowring: Under Bowring, the state was divided into three divisions containing eight districts. Each division was looked after by a commissioner and each district, by a deputy commissioner. The deputy commissioner was made responsible for the collection of revenue and he had under him the *amildars* and *shekdars*. Bowring reorganised the revenue survey and settlement department and regularity in measurement of land and assessment of revenue were introduced. He also took steps to separate the judicial powers from the executive. This policy of separation of powers initiated by him was later continued by his successors. He also introduced the 'Indian Penal Code' and the 'Code of Criminal Procedure' into Mysore. The Registration Act was passed in 1864 and registration was made compulsory for all property transactions. A new department of police was organised on lines of the one in Madras presidency. But one criticism on his administration is that it was staffed mostly by Englishman, and was therefore costly.

To Bowring goes the credit of having encouraged education on a large scale. He took measures to set up schools in villages. A central educational agency was set up (1868). The Central College buildings and the Bangalore Museum building were creations of his time. State secretariat was shifted to the newly built *athara kacheri* building.

Bowring resigned in 1870 and was followed by Sir Richard Meade (till 1875), Saunders (till 1877) and Gordon (from 1878). But among the Commissioners who administered Mysore, Cubbon and Bowring have left behind indelible marks by their good and industrious work. The administration of Mysore came to be modernised during their period. Law and order were better enforced. Revenue system became more reasonable and bearable to the peasants and its collection became systematised. By introducing and expanding modern amenities like roads, railways and telegraphs and education, the state was fast modernised. This process of modernisation would have otherwise been delayed. Both Cubbon and Bowring have a memorable place in the history of modern Mysore.

The Divans : Krishnaraja Odeya III died in 1868 and he had adopted Chamarajendra. Krishnaraja Odeya had continued his effort to secure the throne back and he had founded a strong lobby working in favour of Rendition even in London. The British had decided to hand over power to his adopted son, Chamarajendra. He is known as Chamarajendra Odeyar X and was crowned in March 1881.

The post of the Commissioner was abolished and a British Resident was appointed at the Mysore court. The post of the Divan was created and he was to be the head of the administrative machinery under the new set-up. The Divan had two advisers.

Rangacharlu : Rangacharlu who had been the Chief Secretary of Revenue in Mysore was appointed the first Divan. He was a well-read man who had fully imbibed Western

liberalism. He was responsible for establishing a representative assembly which was convoked in 1881 at the time of the *dasara* when the leading merchants, planters and agriculturists had assembled for the *dasara* *darbar*. It consisted of 144 members who were leading citizens. Though it was not a statutory body, the policies of the government and the statement of expenses were brought to its notice. It met annually. It was the first arrangement of its kind in India as such a representative body did not exist even in the British presidencies.

The financial position of the state was in a very bad shape when Rangacharulu took over administration as there had been a famine in 1876-77, and revenue had fallen in arrears. This severe famine was followed by an epidemic and agriculture suffered. Reserve funds in the state treasury had been spent and public debts were mounting. The Divan introduced great economy in administration, floated public loans and undertook public works to provide jobs to the unemployed peasants. The Bangalore-Mysore railway line was completed in 1882 and work on Bangalore-Tiptur line was begun. Administration was rid of corruption as far as possible by punishing corrupt officials ruthlessly.

He learnt Kannada and loved the language. He identified himself with Mysore though he was from Madras. He encouraged Kannada studies. Kannada scholars like Basavappa Sastry came to be patronised by him. He also founded the Palace Drama Company and thus laid firm foundations for the growth of Kannada Stage. He died in 1883.

Devan Rangacharlu was a great administrator and he laid proper foundations for the future administration of princely Mysore. The Representative Assembly was one of his important innovations. One British official has called him a man with a brain like dynamo, as his mind always worked restlessly regarding public matters.

Sheshadri Iyer : Rangacharlu was succeeded by Sir K. Sheshadri Iyer, a wise and talented administrator. He was

responsible for implementing many schemes aimed at the economic progress of the state. He persuaded the British government to waive the payment of the enhanced subsidy till 1896. It was during his time that gold mining was started in Kolar (1886). He undertook extensive plantation programme, especially of coffee. Bangalore was connected with Harihar by railway by 1889. In the East, line was laid to Hindupur and another line to the K.G.F. Similarly, Mysore was linked with Nanjangudu, and the Birur-Shimoga line was also opened (1899).

The Representative Assembly further gained importance during his period and names of its members came to be gazetted from 1887. From 1891, members were chosen by election, with high property qualification for voters. Graduates also secured the right of voting. From 1894 a tenure of three years was fixed for members. He also introduced taluk boards in 1884. The Mysore Civil Service Examination was started in 1891 to attract young brilliant men for Mysore Civil Services. The old *anche* system was amalgamated with the British postal system in 1889. To give impetus to agriculture and trade, he introduced agriculture and industrial exhibition at Mysore during the *dasara*. He founded the department of geology in 1894 and the department of agriculture in 1898. He paid great attention to irrigation, and the Marihalla project, which created the Vanivilas Sagar was his major undertaking. Shivanasamudra hydro-electric project implemented by him in 1899-1900 was a pioneering scheme as many European countries had not even thought of such a programme. Electricity was supplied to the K.G.F. in 1902 and to Bangalore 1905, and Bangalore became the first Indian city to be electrified. He also created the Hesaraghatta reservoir and Bangalore city came to be provided with drinking water through pipes. He was a great patron of learning and education. The girls' high school of Mysore became the Maharani's college in 1901 by his efforts. The archaeological department of Mysore was organised in 1890 with B L. Rice as its head. The Mysore

Oriental Manuscripts' Library was also opened. Harijans were provided with separate schools as they hesitated to attend other schools. The Mysore Infant Marriages' Act was passed in 1894 by which marriage of girls below eight was banned.

Chamarajendra Odeyar X died in 1894 and was succeeded by Krishnaraja Odeyar IV. The new king was a minor and the queen mother, Kemparajammanni Vanivilas Sannidhanadavaru was the regent. Sheshadri Iyer retired in 1901.

The Divanship of Sir Sheshadri Iyer earned Mysore great reputation as a progressive state. He was far ahead of his times so far as the introduction of new innovations and ideas into administration and economic development were concerned. His introduction of election system and the hydro-electric project can be cited as examples in this regard. Even Lord Curzon praised him for his administrative capacities. But the Divan was slightly haughty and was therefore unpopular with certain factions. It was alleged that he recruited only people from Madras in the administration and this gave rise to protests from local people. M. Venkatakrishnayya (Tatayya) voiced the protest loudly, both inside and outside the Representative Assembly.

P. N. Krishna Murthy, a grandson of Divan Purnayya was appointed Divan in 1901. The next year Krishnaraja Odeyar IV came of age and his investiture ceremony took place with great pomp. It was attended by Lord Curzon. The new ruler was one of the most enlightened princes of modern India. He was highly devoted to the well-being and welfare of his subjects. He was a great lover of education, learning and fine arts. He had the good fortune of having able and far-sighted Divans like Sir M. Visveshvarayya and Sir Mirza Ismail. His period was called the golden age of Mysore and Mysore grew to be a model princely state. Divan Krishnamurthy introduced the British methods of administration, especially with regard to the maintenance of records and files. The *Secretariate Manual* was prepared to guide the officials in this regard.

Expansion of the agricultural department, the founding of the co-operative department in 1905 and extension of local self-government were some of the important measures of his time.

V. P. Madhavarao succeeded to the Divanship in 1906. He paid attention to conservation of forests. The Veterinary Department was founded during his time. Establishment of Legislative Council in 1907 was an important step taken by him. It was to have not less than 10 and not more than 15 additional members to the existing strength of three (councillors) and of this, not less than two fifths were to be non-officials. Two members were to be elected by the Representative Assembly. The Central Co-operative Bank was also founded in Bangalore. The passing of the Mysore Newspapers' Regulation Act in 1908 was one of his regressive measures. Many newspapers were closed in the state by way of protest.

T. Ananda Rao succeeded V. P. Madhavarao in 1909 and his period was one of "routine activity with nothing extraordinary about it" (in the words of Dr. D. V. Gundappa). Inauguration of the Mysore Economic Conference, finalisation of the Kannambadi project under the direction of Chief Engineer Visveshwarayya and the completion of the Mysore palace in 1910 were some important developments of his period.

Sir M. Visveshwarayya : The name of Sir M. Visveshwarayya has the pride of place in the history of modern Mysore. He joined Mysore service in 1909 as Chief Engineer. He was a sort of visionary and a fore-sighted economist. In 1902 he had published a book, *A Vision of Prosperous Mysore* in which he had stressed the need for spread of education, spread of technical knowledge and proposals for irrigation, industrialisation and commercial progress. "Sir Visveshwarayya's Divanship ushered in an era of all-round development and more particularly in the field of industrial enterprise", says Prof. K. Sampathgiri Rao.

He was a liberal statesman, associated with Gekhale and Ranade and was a great believer in democratic institutions. The Mysore Legislative Council came to be expanded during his time by increasing its membership from 18 to 24. Three members were to be elected from the Representative Assembly and four others from the eight districts. The Council was given powers to discuss the budget. The Assembly was allowed to have a second session in June (from 1919) called the budget session.

The Mysore Local Boards' and Village Panchayats' Regulation VI was passed in 1918. It provided for an elected majority in district and taluk boards. Municipalities came to be provided with elected vice-presidents and panchayats with the elected chairmen.

The Mysore Economic Conference was expanded and it came to have three committees for industry and commerce, education and agriculture. It started publishing two journals, one in English and the other in Kannada. The conference met periodically and created interest in peoples' mind regarding the state's economic progress.

A number of projects and industries were implemented by him. They include the completion of the Krishnarajasagara Dam at Kannambadi, the founding of the Iron Works at Bhadravati and the Mysore Bank (1913). A long list of other industries started by him during his period can be also given, viz., 1. The Sandal Oil Factory at Mysore, 2. The Government Soap Factory, 3. The Metal Factory, 4. The Chrome Tanning Factory, 5. The Central Industrial Workshop, all at Bangalore, 6. The Wood Distillation Works together with the 7. Iron Works at Bhadravati. He was also responsible for the establishment of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce and Industries at Bangalore. The founding of the Mysore University (1916) and the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat (1915) were other major achievements. He introduced legislation for the introduction of compulsory education by stages and took measures to expand female education. Scholarships were

instituted for students belonging to the backward classes. The Government Engineering College was founded at Bangalore, at present known as the Visveshwarayya College of Engineering. Technical and Industrial schools also came to be started. The Chamarajendra Technological Institute at Mysore was the most important among them. The state had a total of 372 miles of railway lines by the close of his period, when the Mysore-Arsikere and the Bowringpet-Kolar lines were commissioned. He was also eager to have access to the sea, and negotiated with the Bombay Presidency to secure the port of Bhatkal. All these substantial achievements were of a period when the state's economy was adversely affected by the First World War, and this speaks highly of his capacities. He stopped the practice of maintaining the reserves out of state income. If the reserves were invested in income-yielding projects, there would be no need for them was his way of thinking. This shows that he was an economist with the most modern views.

He was a great administrator who was at once honest, efficient and fore-sighted. He earned the reputation as "the Maker of Modern Mysore". He was an ideal statesman. To press the demand for greater representation to the backward classes in State's Civil Service Praja Mitra Mandali was founded in 1917. The Miller Committee was appointed to look into this demand. As the Dewan was for taking merit alone into account for appointments, he resigned over the issue in 1918.

Sir M. Visveshwarayya was succeeded by Sardar Kantaraj Urs, in 1919. During his short period of three years the Bhadravati Iron Works was commissioned. The Miller Committee, appointed to look into the grievances of the backward classes, submitted its report during his time. It recommended that the backward classes be given due representation in public service. He was succeeded by Sir Albion Banerji in 1922. It was during his time that a Local Self-Government Conference was held (1923), and according to its recommenda-

tions, taluk boards were abolished and village panchayats came to be constituted on a statutory basis. Provision was made for having elected heads for the municipalities. The Seal Committee was appointed to suggest constitutional reforms. According to its recommendations, representation in the Assembly came to be expanded. Franchise was also widened. Women were also enfranchised for the first time. Departments of Industries and Commerce was founded, and the Apex Bank was established.

Sir Mirza Ismail: When Banerji retired in 1926 Sir Mirza M. Ismail was appointed Divan and the long period of his administration was an eventful one. He did everything possible to further the interests of the state. In fact he built the superstructure on the foundations laid by Visveshwarayya. His period saw the state making substantial progress in the field of industries both in the private and public sectors.

Major part of his administration was spent in suppressing various kinds of public disturbances. In fact he had to do a tight-rope walking in the face of popular agitation conducted by the Congress. On the one hand he tried to maintain good relations with the top Congress leaders like Gandhi and Nehru, and on the other he did everything possible to suppress the Congress movement in the State. The Sultanpet disturbances in 1928 and 1929 called for the appointment of an enquiry commission headed by Visveshwarayya. The Commission recommended the introduction of responsible government in the State.

He expanded the Bhadravati Iron Factory by adding a steel plant. A cement factory and a paper factory were started at the same place. The Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, the Porcelain Factory and the Glass Factory, all in Bangalore, were also established. The Sugar Factory at Mandya, the Chemicals and Fertilisers at Belgola, the Match Factory at Shimoga and the Khadi Production Centre at Badanval were the other industries that were set up during his time. He took special

measures to sell Mysore's products like sandal oil, silk, soap and agarbattis abroad. A trade commissioner was appointed at London.

He was a great lover of gardens and parks and the laying of gardens, parks and beautiful squares in towns and cities was encouraged by him. The Kaveri high-level canal was also constructed to irrigate 1,20,000 acres of land in Mandya District. The Brindavan Gardens near Krishnaraja Sagar were laid during his period. Rich and philanthropic citizens were encouraged to make donations for schools, hospitals, and other public causes. He also opened the Medical College in Mysore. The subsidy payable by Mysore to the British Government was reduced from Rs. 35 lakhs to Rs. 24.5 lakhs during his time.

He was a strong administrator and he toiled day and night in his official work. He was keen on maintaining a clean and efficient administration. He toured the State extensively and heard the grievances of the people personally.

Krishnaraja Odeyar IV passed away in 1940. His rule was the Golden Age of Mysore and Mysore saw all-round progress during his time. It came to be known as a model state. Not only agriculture and industry progressed but cultural activities were also fostered. His period saw great divans like Visveshwarayya and Mirza Ismail, great artistes like Vine Seshanna, Bidaram Krishnappa, K. Venkatappa and T. Choudayya, and great scholars like Dr. R. Shama Sastry and Prof. M. Hirianna. All these were patronised by him. Jayachamaraja Odeyar, nephew (brother's son) of the late king was crowned in 1940.

Sir Mirza resigned in May 1941, and he was followed by Sir N. Madhava Rao. He had to face the stresses and strains of the Second World War and also the popular agitation led by the Congress. It was during his time that the K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar Committee Report was implemented. The Bhadra Reservoir Project and the Sharavati Hydro-Electric Project were initiated. He retired in July 1946, and was

followed by Sir Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar. It was during the administration of Arcot that the Maharaja of Mysore, Jayachamaraja Odeyar acceded Mysore to the Indian Union after India became free in 1947.

MOVEMENT FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Mysore had established a very good tradition in the development of responsible government. Soon after the Rendition in 1881, Divan Rangacharlu had founded the Representative Assembly with a strength of 144. It consisted of retired high officials, members of the royal family and representatives from among the people. The names of members came to be gazetted from 1887. During the early years, members were only nominated. But in 1891, a system of election was introduced. Graduates and the people with high property qualification were made eligible for voting. This was one year before the elective system was introduced even in the British Presidencies (in 1892). The tenure of membership was fixed as three years in 1894. Taluk Boards also came to be organised in 1884. Thus Mysore proved to be a pioneering state, introducing popular participation in administration.

In 1907 the Legislative Council was founded and it was a small body. In 1911 provision was made for the election of some members by the assembly to the council. In 1919 the membership of the council rose to 30.

The Home Rule movement in British India also gave rise to a strong demand for responsible government in Mysore. The demand is found expressed for the first time in a newspaper, *Satyavadi*, in 1918. Soon after Jalianwala, at a mammoth meeting held in Bangalore, the demand was stressed and leaders influenced by Indian National Congress spear-headed the movement. In view of this agitation, the Seal Committee came to be appointed in 1923 and its report suggested the placing of Representative Assembly on a statu-

tory basis. The Assembly must be consulted on all legal and financial matters, was another recommendation. Its strength was to be increased to 275 from 250. Payment of land revenue of Rs. 50 or the municipal tax of Rs. 10 was the new qualification fixed for the voters. Women also secured the right of voting for the first time. The strength of the Council was increased to 50. At Hariharapura in Chikmagalur District, an all-Mysore conference organised by Hosakoppa Krishna Rao in 1924, again made a strong demand for responsible government. He was a Congressman.

Newspapers like *Tainadu*, *Veerakesari*, *Chitragupta*, *Nava-jeevana* and *Vishwakarnataka* supported the demand. The *Visveshwarayya* Committee which was appointed after the Sultanpet Ganapati Disturbances (1928), submitted its report recommending the introduction of responsible government. This further strengthened the agitation for responsible government. This was led by Congress leaders.

The *Praja Mitramandali* founded in 1917, somehow, did not support the movement. A new organisation, *Praja Paksha*, founded by V. Venkatappa and K. C. Reddy in 1930 strongly pressed the demand. These two bodies were merged to form the *Praja Samyukta Paksha* in 1934. These organisations had kept themselves aloof from the Congress, dubbing the national organisation as a "party of the brahmins". The Federal Act of India (1935) brought popular ministries in the neighbouring British Presidencies of Madras and Bombay (1937). It was the Congress Party which had formed these ministries. But the political situation in Mysore continued without any change. This made the leaders of the *Praja Samyukta Paksha* to change their policy, and in October 1937, the party decided to form Mysore Congress by joining hands with the local Congress Party and adhering to the policies of the Indian National Congress.

The Mysore Congress held its first session at Shivapur near Maddur under the Presidentship of T. Siddalingayya (April, 1938). It was an unprecedented mammoth gathering in

Mysore, and made a strong demand for responsible government. The Shivapur Congress also gave a call to hold Flag *Satyagraha* and hundreds people courted arrest by unfurling the tricolour all over the state. The Government, and the K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar Committee that was appointed to consider constitutional reforms in March 1938, did not accept the suggestions of the Congress. The Congress continued its agitation. Shivapur was followed by the Vidhuraswatha Tragedy when many people were killed by police firing on a meeting where tricolour was hoisted. This highly strenthened the Congress agitation. The Congress at its sesond session held at Vidhuraswath, H. C. Dasappa presiding, renewed its demand for responsible Government. Jungle *Satyagraha* was launched in 1939 to press the demand in 1939 and over 2000 people came to be imprisoned. Finally, the K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar Committee submitted its report and it recommended the introduction of a unicameral legislature with 250 members. It was to be elected by adult franchise. There was to be a cabinet jointly responsible to the legislature and the government.

An Act of 1940 partially accepted the recommendations of the Iyengar Committee. A bicameral legislature with 68 members in the Council and 310 in the Assembly was set up. The Congress contested the elections and won a many seats in the Legislature. The non-official ministers in the newly appointed cabinet were actually not responsible to the Legislature. The Congress continued to agitate against the new arrangements, and in the meanwhile the Quit India Movement (1942) saw all the Congress leaders behind the bars.

It was only after Independence in 1947, after a strong agitation ("Mysore Chalo") that responsible government came to be founded in 1947.

MYSORE UNDER TIPPU-1784 & KELADI KINGDOM



Map No. 4

Shaded portion is Princely Mysore from 1799 to 1956



Map No. 5

CHAPTER XIII

VIOLENT RESISTANCE AND THE RENAISSANCE

The whole of Karnataka came under the control of the British before the first part of the 19th century. The princely area of Mysore had fallen in their hands in 1799 after the fall of Tipu. Kanara and Bellary Districts were annexed by them in 1799 and included in the Madras Presidency. The Kannada districts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur had also been subject to them when the Nizam of Hyderabad accepted the subsidiary alliance proposed by Lord Wellesley. These three districts were in the Nizam's dominion. The Kannada areas to the North of the Tungabhadra had also fallen in the hands of the British and they were included in the Bombay Presidency, after the defeat of the Peshwa in 1818. Coorg also had become a tributary state of the British and later it had been annexed by them, after dethroning the ruler of Coorg, Chikkaviraraja Odeya in 1834.

The people of Karnataka did not accept this overlordship of the foreigners lying down. There had been a number of anti-British uprisings in Karnataka beginning with 1800 till 1858.

The 19th century also witnessed the beginning of many cultural and social changes, known as the Renaissance.

VIOLENT RESISTANCE

Dhondji Wagh : The first protest against the rule of the British came in the form of a violent uprising led by Dhondji Wagh, a freebooter. Born at Channagiri in the Maratha family of Pawars, Dhondji (or Dhondia) has become famous in history as Wagh (tiger in Marathi). He had served in the army of

Patavardhan of Miraj and the Chhatrapathi of Kolhapur. Later he joined the army of Tipu Sultan. Once he incurred the displeasure of Tipu who imprisoned him and converted him to Islam. He was released after the fall of Tipu. Dhondji reached Malenadu and raised the banner of revolt against the British. He built his own principality round Bidanur and Shikaripur region. He contacted the rulers of Anegundi, Perinturai near Erode, Gopalanayaka of Sivaganga in Tamilnadu, Kerala Varma of Malabar and others. The French at Mahe also encouraged him. His revolt began in June 1800. It was a part of the "South Indian Rebellion", the details of which have been unfolded by Prof. K. Rajayyan. He captured Jamalabad, a fort in South Kanara, Sonda (Sode) in North Kanara, places like Savanur, Ranebennur, Hanagal and Dambal in Dharwad District and Harapanahalli in Bellary District. He assumed the title Ubhayalokadhishwara (Master of Two Worlds) indicating his control over the areas below and above the Ghats. The British were forced to seek the support of the Peshwa and the Nizam against him. Of the princes in Karnataka, Dhondji was supported by Krishnappa Nayaka of Balam (Aiguru), the former ruler of the Manjarabad region.

Dhondji killed Dhondopant Gokhale, the commander of the Peshwa in a war fought near Londa in June 1800. If we are to believe the British records he had with him a cavalry of 90,000 and more than 50,000 foot soldiers. His activities spread across the Belgaum District, to the borders of Kolhapur, and deep into the domain of the Nizam. The British records say that his administration was moderate and liberal and his authority was gaining popular support. Finally a huge army, led by Arthur Wellesley had to be employed to suppress him. He was killed at Konagal in the month of September 1800. Krishnappa Nayaka of Balam was also captured in February 1802. Thus this wide-spread uprising came to an end. British records says that this uprising became so serious that it took the shape of one of their foreign wars.

The next important event in this direction was the uprising of Koppal in the Nizam's dominion led by one Virappa. He caught hold of the fort of Koppal and the surrounding regions for long. Major Dristler of the British army captured the fort in May 1819 and suppressed the uprising.

The very next year there arose a second revolt known as Deshmukhs' Rebellion in the Nizams domination itself. Suliyally in Bidar district was its centre. Shivalingayya Deshmukh of the place, helped by Tirumala Rao Deshmukh of Krishnapur and a third person called Meghasham revolted against the Nizam in December 1820. The Nizam sought the help of the British. The British army led by Lieutenant Southerland conducted prolonged campaigns, and finally in 1821, the insurgents were arrested.

Sindgi in Bijapur District, a place in the British Presidency, was the centre of the next uprising led by Diwakar Dikshit, Ravji Raste, Balaji Deshpande and Settyappa Tukkalli. The insurgents founded their own administration and started collecting revenue from the surrounding areas in 1824. Dharwad collector Stevenson succeeded in putting down them.

Kittur : Kittur in Belgaum District has a prominent place in Karnataka history. It gave birth to a brave queen, Chennamma who revolted against the British. Chennamma was a source of inspiration to the brave people of Kittur for generations.

Shivalinga Sarja, the Desai of Kittur, died childless in 1824. His step-mother, Chennamma adopted a son, Shivalingappa, and administered the Kittur territory as the regent. The collector of Dharwad, Thakeray objected to this adoption saying that Shivalingappa was not a member of the royal family. He wrote to the Bombay Government suggesting the assumption of the administration of Kittur by the British. The 'Doctrine of Lapse' was not in vogue then. Chennamma, the queen, was highly infuriated by the attitude of the British and prepared herself to check the intervention of the British.

In October 1824, Thakeray led an army to Kittur. While laying siege to the fort of Kittur, he was killed. Many of his officials and members of their families fell in the hands of the Kittur army. Later, in December 1824, Chaplin, the Commissioner of South India, collected a huge army and laid siege to Kittur. The queen was taken captive and she was imprisoned at Bailahongal. Kittur was included in the Bombay presidency. The queen died in prison in 1829.

The spark lit by heroic Chennamma could not be easily extinguished. Sangolli Rayanna a village watchman (from Sangolli) who had served in the Kittur army, led a second revolt in 1829. He wanted to press the claims of Shivalingappa, the son adopted by Chennamma over the Kittur territory. Rayanna sought the help of the Nayaka of Surapur (in the modern Gulbarga District). He conducted guerilla warfare and burnt down the office of the malmatdar at Bidi. Later, some of his own friends betrayed him and helped the British to arrest him. He was hanged at Nandgad.

Later, Sardar Gurusiddappa, a loyal servant of Kittur, raised the banner of revolt in support of Shivalingappa, the adopted son. The British arrested Shivalingappa and imprisoned him at Dodawad. In 1833, one Shankaranna revolted against the British at Kittur, but the attempt proved abortive. In 1836, Narappa Gajapati, Savaisetty and Rudrappa Kotgi led one more revolt in Kittur. They even tried to secure the help of the Portuguese from Goa. But this effort was also suppressed. In 1837-38, some loyal men of the royal family killed Khodanpur Linganaugauda who had helped the British to capture Sangolli Rayanna (in 1829) and rose in revolt. This effort also proved fruitless. This long series of rebellions in the Kittur region against the British prove the popularity of the royal family of Kittur and the hatred the people had in their minds against the British.

In the meanwhile there was the Nagar Uprising in Shimoga District in about 1830-31. One Sadaramalla from Kumsi,

calling himself as Budibasappa, and claiming to be a member of the royal family of Keladi, revolted against the rule of Mysore in 1830. The repacity of the revenue officials of Mysore working in the area, caused the uprising. Honnali was the centre of the insurgents. Sarja Hanumappanayaka of Tarikere who had lost the throne, also joined the insurgents. They captured Kalladurga and Kamanadurga and their activities were felt not only in Shimoga District, but in distant places like Bangalore and Chitradurga. Krishnaraja Odeyar III had to lead an army and come down to Shimoga in February 1831. He captured Kalladurga in February 1831. A British army which came via Harihara, captured Kamanadurga in March, Chandragutti in April and Nagar in June. Budibasappa was taken captive in 1834 and hanged.

The peasants in Kanara District (Modern South and North Kanara) also rose in revolt during the same period against the British. It was an agrarin uprising in protest against the heavy burden of land revenue. The Government showed some concessions in revenue and pacified the peasants.

The Coorg Uprising of 1835-37 is another serious event in the series. The British dethroned Chikkaviraraja in 1834, and he was sent to Madras Presidency and Coorg was captured. This caused unrest in certain sections. One Swamy Aparampara, a *jangama*, tried to lead a revolt in 1835. He called himself a Coorg prince. He came to be arrested.

One Kalyanaswamy, also calling himself a member of the royal family of Coorg, continued the revolt. He also was arrested in 1837. One Puttabasappa, then came forward, and calling himself Kalyanaswamy continued the revolt. The revolt spread to territories below the Ghats. Places like Bellare, Sullya, Puttur, Bantval, Mangalore and Kasaragod in South Kanara, where the agrarian revolt of 1831 had been just suppressed, became strongholds of these insurgents of 1837. The collector had to evacuate Mangalore, and with other European families, take shelter at Honnavar in North Kanara. The treasury at Bellare was captured by the insurgents, and

later the treasury of Bantval and of Kasaragod. The British army caught hold of Puttabasappa and hanged him at Mangalore in May. The Banga prince of Bangadi who had joined the insurgents, also was hanged. Guddamane Appayya of Coorg, who had joined the insurgents, was hanged at Mercara.

Narasappa Petkar an official of the dethroned Chhatrapathi from Satara with the help of an Arab Jamadar, Kohiran, serving the Nayaka of Surapur, lead the next revolt, in May 1841. But the insurgents were defeated in June by the British army and Narasappa and his followers arrested. In Bidar District there appeared another rebellion against the Nizam and the British in March 1852. It was lead by one Lingappa. But this uprising also soon ended.

1857 In Karnataka : The country-wide uprising of 1857 had its echo in Karnataka also. The princes of Surapur and Nargund, the Bedas of Halagali and a number of Desais in Dharwad District led by Mundargi Bhimarao revolted against the British in 1857-58. Copies of letters written by Nanasaheb Peshwa from Kanpur to some of the princes in Karnataka have been traced by the British. Some such letters were in the possession of Mundargi Bhimrao. The first episode of the uprising in the 1857 series in Karnataka was at Halagali near Mudhol. The Bedas of that place were protesting against the Arms' Act of the British government, which required them to surrender all their fire arms. They were encouraged to revolt by one Babaji Nimbalkar, a Maratha. They were led by Jadagia and Balya. Nearly 500 Bedas came to Mudhol to protest against the government's order to surrender their arms. At a skirmish at Mudhol between the British army and the Bedas, Nimbalkar died. The British arrested 290 Bedas, and 19 of them were hanged. They included Jadagia and Balya.

Venkatappa Nayaka, the prince of Surapur, was another leader of the revolt. He was in contact with Nanasaheb Peshwa. He had been instigating the Indian soldiers in the British army

at Belgaum and other places to revolt. Captain Windham came to Surapur with an army in February 1858. Newberry, a British commander, was killed outside Surapur as a result of the fire from the fort. Later the British captured the fort when some relations of the Nayaka helped them. Venkatappa escaped to Hyderabad where he was arrested. Later he was sentenced to four-year imprisonment. Venkatappa was a young prince of 24 at that time and he was educated in English. He had been promised the return of his principality to him after his completion of jail term. But this young spirit could not bear the humiliation of foreigner's control and he committed suicide while he was under arrest.

Bhaskerrao Bhawe or Babasaheb of Nargund was another prince who revolted against the British in co-operation with Mundargi Bhimrao and the Desais of Hammige, Dambal, Soratur and Govankoppa. He was also connected with the rulers of Toragal and Anegundi. The British had refused permission to his adoption of a son in 1846, and had demanded the surrender of fire arms with him in 1857 according to the Arms' Act. The arms he had with him were despatched to Dharwad. He arranged for their looting on way. The British sent their commander, Manson, to Nargund. While Manson was camping at Sureban on way to Nargund, he was killed in May 1858 by the men of Babasaheb. The British laid siege to Nargund. Babasaheb escaped, but was caught and hanged at Belgaum in June 1858.

Another person who was in league with Babasaheb was Bhimrao of Mundargi. He was educated in English and was in the service of the British. His self-respect and pride cost him his job. In league with many neighbouring Desais, he revolted against the British and with the help of the Desai of Hammige, he looted the treasury of Gadag. He entered the hill fort of Koppal. But the fort was captured by the British in May 1858, and Bhimrao and Kenchana Gauda, the Desai of Hammige, were killed on the spot. The British could suppress the revolt of Nargund and Koppal simultaneously.

Three sons of the Phond Savant escaped from prison in 1858, and unfurled the flag of revolt in February 1858 in the hilly ranges of Haliyal, North Kanara. This insurrection could be suppressed only in December 1859.

RENAISSANCE IN KARNATAKA

The changes witnessed in the Indian society and in its intellectual activities as a result of the British rule have been called by Indian historians as Renaissance, a word borrowed from the European writers.

Spread of English education, introduction of printing, activities of the Christian missionaries and spread of liberal and democratic ideas were mainly responsible for Indian Renaissance. Literature became secular and prose popular. Fine arts like music, drama, dance and painting also underwent radical changes. The Hindu society, subjected to the attack of the Christian missionaries, became aware of its weakness and saw a new awakening. The liberal ideas of the West created a longing for many social changes like the emancipation of women and eradication of untouchability. The period also saw the rise of modern nationalism. The revival of whatever that was good in the past tradition was one of the main aspects of the Renaissance (revival of the classics). Acceptance of the Western influence was the other important feature. Karnataka also witnessed the Renaissance, beginning with the 19th century itself.

Krishnaraja Odeyar III (1799-1868) can be called the "Morning Star" of Renaissance in Karnataka. Freed from the responsibilities of administration in 1831, the prince paid all his attention to cultural pursuits. His palace echoed the sweet music of many noted artistes, especially *vina* players. The prince was a great patron of Yakshagana, the parent of the modern Kannada stage. His court was a great centre of literary activity.

Education : Christian missionaries who came to Mangalore in 1834 from Basel, started two English schools in South Kanara District. London Mission was active in Bangalore and Belgaum and Wesleyans in Mysore. Catholic Missions were equally active in Mangalore, Mysore and Bangalore in the field of education. An English school was founded at Belgaum in 1832, at Bellary in 1838, at Madikeri in 1834 and at Dharwad in 1858. Mysore came to have such a school in 1833. All the district headquarters in Mysore state came to have English schools between 1840 and 1854. At Gulbarga, under the Nizam, English schools were founded a little later, in 1875-76.

The department of education was founded in the princely Mysore State in 1858, and the Central High School of Bangalore was opened in the same year. The new high school became a college in 1864, and was named as the Central College in 1875. The State had 2,087 schools in 1881. The three districts of the Bombay Karnataka area had 668 schools in 1882.

Marathi was the medium of instruction in all the newly opened schools in the Bombay Karnataka area and it was due to the tireless effort of "Deputy" Chennabasappa, an educational officer, that Kannada was made the medium of instruction in the area, beginning from 1870. The Hyderabad Karnataka region had Marathi as the medium due to certain historic reasons, but even there Kannada replaced Marathi in 1878.

Higher education in English also spread rapidly. In addition to the Central College, Mysore State started the Maharaja's College in Mysore (1879). Mangalore saw the founding of the Government Arts College in 1869 and St. Aloysius College in 1879. St. Joseph's College of Bangalore came into existence in 1882. The North Karnataka region had its first college at Dharwad in 1917 (Karnatak College), and the Hyderabad State saw the founding of the Osmania University in 1916 also catering to the needs of Hyderabad Karnataka. Mysore University came into existence the same year.

Printing: Introduction of printing in Kannada was another feature which helped the Renaissance. Christian missionaries were responsible for this. Propagating the Christian gospel was the aim of these early printers in Kannada. The first printed book in Kannada was released in 1817, followed by the Kannada Bible in 1820. The missionaries, who were eager to learn the Indian languages, compiled dictionaries and grammars of Indian languages for their own use, and the English-Kannada dictionary compiled by the Rev. Reeve was printed in 1824 and a Kannada-English dictionary by the same missionary in 1832. The first Kannada publication (1817) was a Kannada grammar from Srirampur in Bengal.

The missionaries published the first *Kannada* newspaper *Mangalura Samachara* from Mangalore from 1843, which was later rechristened as *Kannada Samachara*, being printed from Bellary. The Basel Mission started a printing press at Mangalore (1841) and did pioneering work in improving the Kannada types. The Mysore palace started a press at Mysore in 1840. The Government Press at Bangalore (1842) and the Subuddhi Prakasha Press at Belgaum (1849) were other such ventures and Dr. Havanur has listed 86 Kannada printing presses, founded during the 19th century.

The missionaries who were eager to know the Hindu religion so that they could criticise it better, printed some of the Indian classics, mainly for their own use, and in Kannada too. Works like *Jaimini Bharata* (1848) and *Basava Purana* (1850) were printed by them. This helped "classical revival" in Kannada and interest in ancient Kannada literature was on the increase. The Mysore Government initiated the 'Bibliothica Carnatica' series from 1891 when works of Pampa and other Kannada classics were printed.

Study of Kannada at schools, popularisation of English literature and western political and philosophical ideas, and the introduction of printing brought about the "dawn", indicating the emergence of the Renaissance. The turn of the century witnessed High Renaissance.

Literature: The clear indication of this change is witnessed in Kannada literature. Interest in classics, both Sanskrit and Kannada, was evidenced. The influence of English literature was also felt. Literary production in prose and secular literature were some other prominent features. The first literary piece in prose of the modern period was *Mudra-manjusha* (1823), a historical narrative by Kempu Narayana, a scholar at the court of Krishnaraja Odeyar III. This is a translation of Vishakhadatta's Sanskrit play. This classical revival was also witnessed in the translation of Sanskrit plays of Kalidasa, Harsha and others. Shakespeare's plays were also translated during the same period, indicating the influence of English. The Mysore court had a number of other Kannada writers like Devachandra, Aliya Lingaraja and the ruler himself. Finally Muddana (1870-1901) proclaimed the emergence of High Renaissance by saying *padyam vadyam gadyam hridyam*, indicating the popularity of prose as against verse.

The background of the 19th century helped the High Renaissance of the 20th century. Certain events helped this change. Rise of national consciousness and pride in the past of Karnataka and India, the freedom struggle and the rule of an enlightened prince, Krishnaraja Odeyar IV (1902-1940) were some of the general factors which helped High Renaissance, together with the spread of education, resultant literacy and popularisation of printing.

The recovery of the history of Karnataka was one such factor. Dr. J. F. Fleet published his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts in the Bombay Presidency* (1882). The Mysore Government organised the Archaeological Department, under the able guidance of Dr. B. L. Rice. The *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes were published from 1886. He also wrote *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* in 1909. Dr. Bhandarkar published his *The Early History of Dakhan* (1884). Robert Sewell's *A Forgotten Empire* (1901) gave a glowing account of the Vijayanagara Empire. All these publications had an electric

tying influence on the minds of the Kannada elite. Alur Venkata Rao published his Kannada work *Karnataka Gata-vaibhava* in 1917, summarising the accounts of all these historical works. The scholar made a fervent appeal to the Kannada people to remember the past glory of Karnataka, its heroic rulers, great saints and scholars, its hoary traditions and its rich heritage in the field of literature, art and architecture.

The founding of the Karnataka Bhashojjivini Sabha by the Mysore Maharaja in 1886, Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha at Dharwad in 1890, Mythic Society in 1909 and the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat in 1915, and the Swadeshi Movement of 1906, had their own influence on the growth of national consciousness, cultural awakening, and the High Renaissance. The Congress in 1920 recognised Karnataka as a separate region with a provincial committee for the area (K.P.C.C.) It was a great landmark in the awakening of Kannada patriotism.

Literary Renaissance continued. With the writing of the Kannada text books and the publication of Kannada newspapers, Kannada prose had been standardised by this time. The first original social novel in Kannada was published in 1892, named *Suryakantha* by Lakshman Gadagkar, followed by Gulvadi Venkatarao's *Indirabayi* (1899). Novels translated from Marathi (by Galaganatha) and Bengali (by B. Venkatachar) also popularised literature. The influence of modern English poetry on Kannada was evidenced when the Christian Missionaries composed many songs of prayer.

Fine Arts: Fine arts also witnessed many changes. The Kannada stage witnessed remarkable activity. Yakshagana had been popular in Mysore, having been introduced from South Kanara. Inspired by the performance of the South Kanara troupe, some youths of Mysore organised a troupe. A similar troupe was founded at Yelandur too. But all this was during the first half of the 19th century. This was the harbinger of the modern stage.

Modern drama took shape with the founding of a stage called Chandrasale in the Mysore Palace and organising the Palace troupe in 1881. But modern dramas came to be enacted in other parts of Karnataka like Shirasangi, Gadag and Gubbi almost at the same time or a little earlier. On the stage of Karnataka also the influence of the West and the influence of the Sanskrit plays (indicating classical revival) were apparent.

Shakespeare's plays came to be translated. *Romeo and Juliet* wore the garb of *Ramavarma-Lilavati* (translated by C. Ananda Rao). *Othello* had two versions: *Shurasena Charitre* (by Basavappa Sastry) and *Reghavendrarao Nataka* (by Churamari). *Midsummer Night's Dream* became *Pramilarjuniya* at the hands of Srikanthegouda and *Vasantayamini Swapnachamatkara Nataka* at those of K. Vasudevachar. These are a few examples to show how English literature influenced the Kannada stage. The plays of Kalidasa were equally popular. Churamari Sheshagiri Rao translated *Shakuntala* in 1869 and the same play was translated by Basavappa Sastry at Mysore. Sosale Ayyasastry rendered *Vikramorvashee* into Kannada.

The visits of the Marathi drama troupe from Sangli to Mysore in 1878 and by the Hindi Victoria Parsi Company of Bombay to Bangalore in 1876 were responsible for revolutionary changes in the stagecraft in Karnataka.

The High Renaissance witnessed great dramatists like Sirahatti Venkobarao, Gubbi Viranna, Sadashivarao Garud, Varadachar, Vamanrao Master and Ranganatha Bhatta. A. V. Varadachar (whose Ratnavali Nataka Sabha was founded in 1902) was one of the greatest actors produced by Karnataka.

Music too had its distinct development in Karnataka. The famous Dakshinadi School, called the Karnataka School grew during the Vijayanagara period. Later, Tamilnadu witnessed the progress of this school in the days of Tyagaraja. One of the disciples of Tyagaraja, Sadashivaraya was responsible for its "revival" in Mysore. The court of Krishnaraja Qdeyar III

had great musicians, especially *vainikas* such as Venkatasubbayya, Chikkaramappa and Sambayya. Vine Sheshanna (1859-1926), son of Chikkaramappa, was the greatest *vainika* of High Renaissance, and he had his contemporary musicians of note like Lakshminarayanappa, Mysore Vasudevacharya, Bakshi Subbanna, Bidaram Krishnappa and T. Chaudiah. The rule of Krishnaraja Odeyar IV has been called the "golden age of music". Mysore developed a distinct school of Karnataka Music, which gave more importance to *raga* and *bhava*. The *vainikas* of Mysore stuck to the classical traditions. The North Karnataka region witnessed a great Hindustani vocalist, Savai Gandharva (Rambhau Kundgolkar).

There were dancers like Jatti Tayamma and Mugur Subbanna in Mysore. Their talents in the art and their knowledge of the *Sastras* had made them artistes with few equals. But the growing sentiment against the *devadasi* system and the puritanical attitude of Krishnaraja Odeyar IV, who disliked cheap performances called *tyape* (during marriages) discouraged the art to some extent.

The tradition of Karnataka in the field of painting is quite old. The Vijayanagara Empire and Tipu had encouraged art. One manuscript of the days of Krishnaraja Odeyar III, 'Sri-tattvanidhi', has many beautiful miniature paintings. The prince had many painters like Sundarayya, Tanjavur Kondayya and Alasingrayya under his patronage. Krishnaraja Odeyar IV encouraged artists like B. Venkatappa whom he sent to Shantiniketan. Raju Brothers and Keshavayya were other artists of note whom the prince had encouraged. Nagaraju (of the two Raju Brothers) had been even sent to Italy to study the Renaissance Art there. Pavanje from South Kanara and Kamadolli from North Karnataka were other prominent artists. The Chamarajendra Technological Institute and the Jaganmohan Art Gallery were founded in Mysore, two landmarks in the princely state. Still, Mysore followed Bengal Renaissance in the field of painting and no independent "Mysore school" developed.

There were sculptors like B. Venkatappa and Siddalinga Swamy. The Gudigers of North-West Karnataka (whose medium is ivory or wood) have secured for themselves fame all over the world. Inlay work also developed in Mysore.

The Renaissance left its mark on architecture also. The influence of Mughul style and the European Renaissance style were clearly witnessed. The Central College, Bangalore is a Gothic structure (1860). The Bangalore Athara Kachery (1867) in the Ionic style and the Museum building (1879) in the Corinthian style were some of the fine monuments of the period. The Western influence can be also traced in the Oriental Manuscript Library building of Mysore. The Hindu-Muslim style was employed in the construction of the new Palace of Mysore (1910). It was followed in other public buildings in the city.

Social Changes : Society also underwent radical changes. The Brahma Samaj, was founded in Mangalore in 1870 and later at Bangalore too. Theosophical Society founded its branch in Bangalore in 1886, Mangalore in 1901 and Dharwad in 1902. Arya Samaj had its branch in Mangalore in 1919, in Bangalore in 1922 and it was very active in Hyderabad Karnataka region. Bangalore had Ramakrishna Mission in 1904. The influence of Besant on Karnataka were indelible. All these organisations worked for social reform. The Indian Progressive Union of Bangalore (founded in c. 1904) was one such local organisation. Their work had its impact.

Mysore passed laws banning child (girls below eight) marriage (1894) much earlier than the passage of Sarda Act (1929), and it was one of the first princely states to enfranchise women (1923). The Maharani's College of Bangalore and similar educational institutions like the Maharani's College of Mysore (founded in 1901) and the St. Agnes College of Mangalore (1921) did a lot to educate women.

Widow marriage campaign was also witnessed. Akkadas Hegde of Sirsi founded a society to help the marriage of

widows from the Havyaka Brahmin caste. Karnad Sadashiva Rao had a widow remarried at Mangalore. Venketa Varadachariengar of Bangalore married a widow, and founded Abalashrama (1911) to help destitute women. Freedom movement brought women on a large scale in public life. Thus major strides were laid in the direction of emancipation of women.

Kudmul Rangarao in Mangalore (founded Depressed Classes Mission in 1887), R. Gopalaswamy Iyer in Bangalore and Govindacharya Swamy in Mysore did pioneering work for eradication of untouchability, much earlier than the Congress could take it up. Seshadri Iyer had started schools for untouchables in Mysore, and M. Visveshwarayya had started providing scholarships for them. Kudmul had started many schools for Harijans in South Kanara. The Christian missionaries also did a lot of work to eradicate untouchability.

Scholars like Dr. R. Sama Sastry, Dr. R. Narasimhaiah, and Prof. M. Hiriyanna, by their researches in the field of history and philosophy, brought great fame to Karnataka. Dr. Sama Sastry secured immortal fame by his discovery of the *Arthashastra* (of Kautilya).

Stage artistes like Varadachari, artists like Venkatappa and musicians like Vine Seshanna and Savai Gandharva and scholars like Dr. Sama Sastry and Prof. Hiriyanna were the products of the Renaissance and of whom any nation can be proud.



Map No. 6

CHAPTER XIV

MOVEMENT FOR FREEDOM AND UNIFICATION

The Freedom movement that was witnessed during the twentieth century, brought the common man to the fore as maker of history, undergoing many trials and tribulations and suffering for a cause voluntarily. This is the golden chapter in the history of India and also Karnataka.

The period of the rule of British crown (from 1858) saw a term of quiet in Karnataka for almost three decades. Four from Karnataka, Kolachalem Venkatarao and two others from Bellary and Bhausaheb Bhate from Belgaum, had attended the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1885. A. O. Hume visited Dharwad and Belgaum in 1893 and propagated the Congress ideas. The Bombay State Political Conference was held at Belgaum in 1895 with Dinshaw Wacha as the President. These were some of the early activities connected with freedom movement in Karnataka.

Rise of Nationalism: Spread of English and Western education was responsible for the popularisation of western liberal and democratic ideas and the concept of modern nationalism in Karnataka.

Recovery of the history of Karnataka by the works of Fleet, Rice, Sewell and Alur Venkata Rao made the people of Karnataka aware of the glory and grandeur of the past and a hankering for its reconstruction.

Writers like Alur, Galaganath, Shantakavi, K. Vasudeva-charya, Subodha Rama Rao, B. Venkatacharya and others helped the creation of patriotic feelings. Newspapers also spread the new ideas.

The activities of the Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj, Theosophical Society, Ramakrishna Mission and the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals also had their impact.

Tilak and his papers *Kesari* and the *Maratha* were the real harbingers of modern nationalism in Karnataka, especially in the Bombay Presidency area. There were Kannada journals too like *Rajahansa* (1881), *Karnataka Vritta* (1880) and *Dhananjaya* (1895, all from Dharwad), *Vrittanta Chintamani* (Mysore, 1885) and *Swadeshabhimani* (Mangalore, 1907) who spread the new gospel. The turn of the century saw the spread of the national movement, far and wide in the State.

The Bombay State Political Conference was held for a second time in Karnataka at Dharwad in 1903 attended by Tilak and Phirozeshaw Mehta, the latter presiding. The unrest following the division of Bengal (1906) did cast its shadow over Karnataka too. Public meetings in protest against Vangabhangs were held at Dharwad, Belgaum, Alnavar, Gadag, Bagalkot, Kittur, etc. Govindarao Yalgi, Dr. Joshi and 13 others underwent imprisonment for picketing liquor shops in Belgaum in 1907. Gangadharrao Deshpande opened a national school at Belgaum. Such schools were also opened at Dharwad, Bagalkot and Bijapur.

Surat Congress of 1907 was attended by leaders from Karnataka like Alur Venkta Rao and Annacharya Hoskeri (of Dharwad), Srinivasarao Kaujaigi (of Bijapur) and Govindarao Yalgi, Gangadharrao Deshpande (of Belgaum), and there, in the clash that followed causing split in the Congress, these leaders sided with Tilak and other Extremists. A revolutionary secret organisation, Mazzini Club, was founded at Belgaum by Yalgi and Hanumantrao Deshpande soon after this.

Tilak toured the North Karnataka area time and again. He visited Bellary in 1905, and Belgaum and Gurlahosur in 1906. When he started the Home Rule League in 1916, he visited Belgaum, Sankeawar and other places and opened branches of

the League. The League had its branches also in Dharwad, Siddapur (in North Kanara District), Bellari, Hubli and Mangalore.

In the meanwhile, the 16th Bombay State Political Conference was held at Belgaum in 1916, followed by the 18th such meet at Bijapur in 1918. Both these assemblies were attended by Gandhiji. He also came to Mangalore and Bangalore in 1920.

The Arya Samaj was mainly responsible for national awakening in the Hyderabad-Karnataka area and national schools were started in places like Chincholi, Kalburgi, Raichur and Kukanur. Pandit Taranath was ordered to leave Hyderabad state in 1920 for his activities in Raichur. The Theosophical Society under Besant helped popularising national ideas in Old Mysore. The Bangalore National High School was founded by Theosophists in 1917.

The Karnataka State Political Conference held at Dharwad in 1920 under the Presidentship of V. P. Madhava Rao (former Divan of Mysore) decided to send maximum number of delegates to the Nagpur Congress from Karnataka, and nearly 800 delegates did go to Nagpur in 1920. It was at Nagpur that Karnataka was permitted to have a separate P.C.C. and "Lion of Karnataka", Gangadharrao Deshpande became the first K.P.C.C. President. A District Congress Committees was founded for Mysore State with Justice Setlur as President and local committees were started at Tumkur, Bangalore, Mysore and Kadur in 1921-22 in the Mysore State. But Congress did not permit the conducting of agitations in princely areas.

Non-Cooperation: Gandhiji toured Karnataka in 1920 and 1921. The Ali Brothers accompanied him. Muslims joined the Congress in large numbers as a result of the Khilafat movement.

The Non-cooperation Movement indicated the widespread clamour for freedom in Karnataka. In response to Gandhiji's

call of boycott of courts, schools, colleges and offices, Dattopant Majali, Krishnarao Karguppi, Narayanarao Joshi and Ajarekar gave up their legal practice in Belgaum. In Bijapur, Srinivasarao Kaujalgi, Divansaheb Janvekar, Jayarao Deshpande, Rangarao Tilgul and Hanamantarao Kaujalgi similarly gave up their practice as lawyers. Anantarao Jalihal and Venkatesh Kulkarni of Gadag, Karnad Sadashiva Rao and K. R. Karanth of Mangalore, S. S. Sastri of Honnavar, Vasudevarao Kollali of Sirsi, Madhvarao Kabbur and Alur Venkatarao from Dharwad were among some of the lawyers who gave up practice. Jayaramacharya Koppal, a *kirtankar* from Hyderabad Karnataka, held his *harikathas* and conducted an effective propaganda of the Congress programmes.

The period 1921-22 saw a number of processions, meetings, "hollies" of foreign goods, and nearly 100 people courted arrest in Karnataka. The State repression was also heavy. At Dharwad on July 1 (1921) three persons were killed when police fired on a mob picketing a liquor shop. This was followed by the arrest of 27 citizens who included R. R. Diwakar and Mudvidkar. Many of them were sentenced for various terms of imprisonment. Gangadharrao Deshpande was arrested in 1921 for a speech delivered by him at Navalgund. Jayarao Deshpande, Hanamantarao Kaujalgi, Hanamantarao Mohare were among those who were imprisoned in Bijapur District for their "seditious" articles and speeches. In North Kanara, Chauda Nayak of Bedakani (Siddapur), a peasant, was the first political prisoner, followed by others like Timmappa Nayak, who had given up his job of head master in a Sirsi school, and was working in a national school at Sirsi. A national school was started by Karnad at Mangalore in 1921, and there were nearly 50 such schools in the State, and among them was the national school at Dharwad, run by Alur Venkata Rao, where Dr. Bendre and Diwakar worked as teachers. In Bellary, Tekur Narayana Sastry, Kallur Subba Rao and Lyangli Bhimasena Rao underwent six-month imprisonment for breaking prohibitory order. Three person including D. K. Bharedwarj

were imprisoned in South Kanara. When the Prince of Wales visited India on November 17th, 1921 there was hartal in many important places in Karnataka including Bangalore. Two Khilaphat workers died of Police firing the next day at Bangalore Cantonment.

Though after Chauri Chaura, there was lull elsewhere in the country, Karnataka was not quiet. The second Karnataka Political Conference was organised at Mangalore by Karnad under the presidentship of Sarojini Naidu in 1922, followed by the third such meet at Gokarna, presided over by Sankaracharya of Dwarakapitha in 1924. A good number of volunteers from Karnataka went to participate in the Flag Satyagraha of Nagpur (1923). While at Nagpur jail, Dr. N. S. Hardikar of Karnataka (a young doctor, who had returned from U. S. after specialising in medicine and his mind charged with nationalistic feeling) decided to start Hindustani Seva Dal. The all-India headquarters of the Dal was at Hubli, and volunteers from all over the country came there to seek training at the hands of Dr. Hardikar and his "ironsides". Dr. Hardikar could train 1700 volunteers including many ladies from Karnataka alone at the time of Belgaum Congress of 1924, when leaders from all over the country showered praise and appreciation over the sense of dedication, discipline and patriotic fervour of these volunteers. Karnataka gave a leader of all-India stature in Dr. Hardikar.

Karnataka had the privilege of being the venue of all-India Congress session only once in pre-Independence days, and this privilege had its speciality, viz., having Gandhiji as its president. The impact of the Belgaum Congress of 1924 on the workers and freedom movement in Karnataka was great.

Gandhiji stayed at Nandi Hill in 1927 due to ill health and later he toured Mysore State. His visit to Mysore, Mandya, Shimoga, Hassan, Chikmagalur and Bangalore Districts had electrifying effect in Old Mysore State. The Sultanpet Ganapati Episode (1928 and 1929) and the high-handed attitude of the

Mysore Government helped further strengthening the Congress in Mysore. Two journalists, Veerakesari Sitharama Sastry and C. Ashwatha Narayana Rao were imprisoned for their "seditious" articles in 1929, being the first political prisoners from Mysore.

For long the Congress had been dubbed as an "organisation of the brahmins". The non-brahmin movement (Baahmanetara Parishat) in Bombay State had advised its followers at its meetings and conferences, to keep themselves away from the Congress. A majority of the rank and file of the Congress were only brahmins. Still, a group of non-brahmin youngmen had founded Bharatiya Taruna Sangha at Dharwad led by Hallikeri and Siddalingayya Kajariswamy, and started undertaking nationalistic activities (1927).

Later, the Brahmanetra Parishat at its annual meeting held at Belgaum in May 1930 gave a call to its followers to join the Congress. A similar decision was taken at the Veerashaiva Mahasabha held at Haveri in August 1930 under the presidency of Hardekar Manjappa. Thus Congress started attracting the masses too.

Civil Disobedience Movement : The Civil Disobedience Movement started by Gandhiji in 1930 kept the Congress workers in Karnataka active in some agitation or the other, and hundreds filled the jails by breaking law. When Gandhiji launched his historic Dandi March, salt satyagraha was offered at Ankola in the presence of nearly 40,000 people on April 13th, 1930 by M.P. Nadkarni and others. This satyagraha was continued for 45 days at Ankola, and the K. P. C. C. had concentrated all its energies at Ankola, where every day thousands gathered to make the *satyagraha* a success. Salt satyagraha was offered in nearly 30 centres of Karnataka like Mangalore, Cundapur, Padubidre, Udupi, Puttur, Malpe, Kapu, Manjeshwar (all in South Kanara), Bisanal (in Bijapur District), Kiresur and Yavagal (Dharwad District). Salt was brought from Goa and sold at Karwar by a group of satyagrahis on

June 1, 1930. The salt markets were held at Ankola on April 25 and 27, and again on May 3, when tax-free salt in hundreds of bags was sold. The excise regulations appeared to be non-existing as a result of such an agitation.

The salt *satyagrah* was followed by forest *satyagraha* and agitation against the production and sale of liquors. People broke the regulation regarding reserved forests, and brought fire-wood or fodder and courted arrest. Picketing of liquor shops, cutting down of toddy trees, picketing the auction of toddy depots were also resorted to. Women also joined in large numbers in picketing liquor shops and braved humiliations heaped on them by miscreants and the police.

More serious was the no-tax campaign, launched after the experience of Bardoli in Gujarat. Four taluks in Karnataka were selected for no-tax campaign, namely, Hirekerur in Dharwad District and Ankola, Sirsi and Siddapur in North Kanara District. In Hirekerur, the campaign was a complete success, thanks to the leadership of Viranagouda Patil. In Sirsi it was partially successful. But in Siddapur and Ankola, the campaign was a major success despite the repressive attitude of the government. A total of 750 people from Belgaum District, 442 in North Kanara, 202 in Dharwad, 159 in South Kanara, 158 from Bijapur, 77 from Bellary and 20 from Coorg underwent various terms of imprisonment during the *satyagraha* of 1930-31 alone. They were imprisoned for various offences, like participating in meetings, processions, cutting of toddy trees, picketing liquor shops or shops selling foreign cloth, non-payment of *hullubanni* (tax on fodder from government pastures), cutting down of sandal wood trees or bringing forest products like firewood and for non-payment of taxes like land revenue.

After a short lull that followed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931, the no-tax campaign was resumed in 1932, and the sacrifices of the people of Siddapur and Ankola during the time deserve to be written in golden letters. Illiterate

Nadavers of Ankola and conservative brahmins of Siddapur, mostly Haviks, not only did not pay the land revenue but allowed their lands and houses to be confiscated together with their movable property which included domestic vessels and livestock. While auctioned, the goods had no bidders. When a few government servants and "loyalists" did buy such goods, women volunteer courted hunger strike in front of the houses of such loyalists. These women volunteers were subjected to all sorts of ridicule and torture while on hunger strike. Dirt was thrown on them, abuses were heaped on them and hooligans were let loose on them. But they faced all such atrocities, and persisted in their hunger strike, which went on at times for weeks in distant secluded villages. The women broke fast only when the buyers returned the auctioned goods to their original owners. The police also did not spare these fasting women who were flogged.

Whole families were arrested when revenue was not paid. Their houses were locked. While in search of valuables in the houses, the police ransacked many a house, and even conducted "excavations" for valuables, under suspicion that they might have been buried underground inside the houses.

As all grown-ups in many families had been taken to jail, two *balakashramas* or shelter homes for the children of the arrested from North Kanara were opened at Karwar and Shimoga, housing 150 boys and girls.

When returned from jail, many members found their houses in dilapidated condition either due to "police excesses" or due to heavy rains. Land was the only means of their livelihood. For four or five years, they had to undergo all sorts of ordeals, and only in 1938, they got their lost lands back. North Kanara District became memorable in the history of the freedom movement in India, and has been the subject of praise at the hands of leaders like Sardar Patel and Gandhiji. The *satyagraha* in other forms was continued in other parts of British Karnataka. Hundreds of Seva Dal volunteers from Mysore participated in this movement outside Mysore.

Newspapers rendered yeoman service in spreading nationalistic spirit during the period. Some of the papers like *Kanada Vritta* (Kumta) had to suspend publications, and some others like *Karnataka Kesari* (Bellary) had to stop publication due to governmental action. But cyclostyled bulletins, secretly printed and clandestinely distributed by bold volunteers, old and young (even boys in early teens) and even by women, supplemented the work of newspapers.

The Congress won all seats contested by it for the Legislatures of Bombay and Madras from Karnataka (except the one from Bijapur District) in 1937. The Congress Ministries came to power in those provinces. District Local Boards in these Presidency Districts were also controlled by the Congress. The Ministers resigned in 1939 in protest against the decision of the British Government to make India participate in the II World War. Nearly 2000 men and women offered individual *satyagraha* in Karnataka in 1940-41 by shouting anti-war slogans and underwent imprisonment from three months to one year.

The Congress had decided not to hold agitations in princely areas like Mysore, but only undertake constructive activities like Khadi, Harijan work, etc. Volunteers from Mysore had been going to British Districts to participate in the agitations. But the Praja Samyukta Paksha of old Mysore decided to merge with Congress and called itself Mysore Congress in 1937. The new organisation held its first Conference at Sivapur in April 1938. (The history of Mysore Congress is already discussed in a previous chapter). K.T. Bhashyam, Talakere Subrahmanya, H. C. Dasappa, B. N. Gupta, H. K. Viranna Gowda, K. Hanumanthaya, M. N. Jois, K. C. Reddy, S. Nijalingappa, Sahukar Channayya and Tagadur were some of the prominent leaders from Mysore State. Labourers of Bangalore, Bhadravati and other industrial centres had also organised themselves under the Congress banner. Their strength was tested for the first time in the Binny Mill Strike in 1941, which continued for 25 days successfully. The

Congress had also organised the peasants and held peasants' conferences at taluk level.

Hyderabad Karnataka Parishat was organised in 1934 to conduct nationalistic activities in Hyderabad Karnataka area. Hyderabad State Congress was founded in 1938. G. Ramacharya, Ramananda Tirtha, Dr. Melkote, Krishnacharya Joshi, Janardanrao Desai, Sharanagauda Inamdar, Virabhadrappe Sirur and A. Shivamurthy Swamy were some of the nationalist leaders of Hyderabad Karnataka. The Congress had helped organising peoples' movements in other minor princely states of Karnataka too like Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Sangli etc.

Quit India: Karnataka witnessed unprecedented mass awakening during the Quit India movement of 1942. The movement was the strongest in Belgaum and Dharwad Districts and in Bangalore and Mysore cities.

Soon after the declaration of the launching of the Quit India Movement by Gandhiji at the Bombay A.I.C.C. on August 8, 1942, all important leaders of the Congress were arrested. The movement became leaderless. Kalelkar and Masruvala, two trusted lieutenants of Gandhiji wrote in *Harijan* weekly giving a call to carry on the agitation with a view to undermine the government machinery. They suggested the undertaking of subversive activities so that the government would cease to function. Physical violence was to be totally abhorred.

The K.P.C.C. appointed an action committee with C. J. Ambli of Bijapur as the President, R. R. Diwaker as Secretary and U. Srinivasa Mallia, D. P. Karmarkar and R. S. Hukkerikar as members. The committee had Bombay as its headquarters. Annu Guruji, Chennappa Wali, Chinmayaswami Onkarmath, Sriranga Kamath, Vamana Bidari, Dr. Jayadeva Kulkarni, Wadavi and others in Belgaum District, Kariyappa Sangur, Mailara Mahadevappa, Timmanagauda Menasinhel, Shankar Kurtkoti, Venkatesh Magadi, N. T. Dabade and Bindumadhava Burli in Dharwad District, C. J. Ambli and R. G. Dube in

Bijapur District, Ramachandra Prabhu and K. G. Joshi in North Kanara were in the forefront of underground activities. Innumerable *gramachavadis* (village offices) were burnt in Belgaum and Dharwad Districts, and records from village accountants were confiscated and set on fire. Telegraph wires were cut, railway lines removed, and railway stations and government offices were also damaged. European military had to be deployed in Belgaum to suppress the movement.

In Old Mysore, labourers at Bangalore, Bhadravati, K.G.F., Davanagere and other places went on strike in protest against the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders, and the strike continued for a number of days. Students too joined the agitation in thousands by boycotting schools and colleges. The Bangalore-Guntakal train traffic was suspended for two weeks due to subversive activities. Sardar K. A. Venkataramayya, A. G., Ramachandra Rao, N. D. Shankar, M. V. Krishnappa, Maganlal Shah, Kotre Nanjappa, H. S. Doraswamy and others directed underground activities in Mysore as all senior leaders had been arrested in the initial stage of this movement.

The agitation continued severely for at least one year in full swing. Twenty-five railway stations in Karnataka were burnt or damaged. Post Offices in Bangalore and Nippani were among the many that were destroyed. At Nippani a punitive fine of over two lakhs was levied for having burnt many government offices including the sub-registrar's office.

Government timber depots at Gangavali, Hattikeri and Sirsi were set on fire, and a punitive fine of Rs. 30,000 was levied on Gokarna town for the Gangavali burning. More than 50 Persons in Coorg and over 100 from Hyderad Karnataka came to be arrested in 1942-43.

Nearly 150 people were killed in Bangalore, especially in August, soon after the news of Mahadevbhai Desai's death in jail (August 15) reached the City. The Mysore Bank Square was the scene of a massacre. Six persons were killed at Davanagere and seven at Bailahongal as a result of police

firing. Seven revolutionaries from Nippani Taluk died at Gargoti, Kolhapur state, while trying to loot State treasury. A school boy was killed in Nippani town and another at Kadavisivapur, Belgaum District when police opened fire on processions. Similarly, a young student died at Hubli on August 15, 1942 when a procession was fired on.

Timmanagouda Menasinhali, a worker died of injuries sustained by explosion of a bomb in his hand, in Dharwad District. More shocking was the news of the death of Mailar Mahadevappa, a staunch Gandhian and dedicated worker at Hosaritti in Dharwad District, while trying to loot a government treasury on April 1943. Two other colleagues of his also fell victims to police bullets. The riots at Isur, Shimoga District, resulted in the death of two officials, and later, in the hanging of five young patriots.

At least 7000 people were jailed in Karnataka in 1942-43. Jails were full every where, and barracks were erected to house political prisoners. People of Karnataka proved themselves to be in no way lagging behind in their patriotism, determination and sacrifice, to the people in other parts of the country. The movement came to an end when underground workers like Dr. Diwakar and others surrendered to the police in 1944.

Mysore Chalo : When India became free, the Mysore Congress had to launch "Mysore Chalo" movement to force the Maharaja to agree for accession to the Indian Union.

The Mysore Congress headed by K. C. Reddy gave a call to hold *satyagraha* in front of the Mysore palace beginning with September 14 (1947). Volunteers from various parts of the state were to start from September 4 on foot and reach Mysore by conducting propaganda all along their routes, in all towns and villages, demanding merger of Mysore into the Indian Union and granting of responsible government. This call for "Mysore Chalo" (March to Mysore) was echoed in the nooks and corners of the state. Volunteers started on foot

from every major town of the state, shouting slogans like "Mysore Chalo", "Arcot Boycott" (condemning the Dewan, Arcot Ramaswamy Mudaliar) and "Tambu Chetty Chatta Katti" (condemning a member of the dewan's council). Every where these volunteers were welcomed and fed by people.

Though leaders like Reddy and others came to be arrested in advance, popular response was unprecedented. Students came out of colleges. Labourers went on strike in all industrial centres like Bangalore, Mysore, Bhadravati, K. G. F. and Davangere. Even the railway employees and the police went on strike. All newspapers were banned. Thousands came to be arrested at Mysore and on several routes leading to Mysore. As jails could not accommodate the arrested, they were severely beaten and taken to far off places and released. To paralyse the administration, the government offices came to be picketed by thousands of persons including women. At places like Hosadurga, Tumkur, Tirthahalli, Challakere and Shidlaghatta, the mob surrounding the taluk office had to face police bullets when many were killed, the toll being six at Hosadurga alone. Over 20 killed in the state as sequel to police firing. But people's enthusiasm knew no bounds. Camps were organised across the border in neighbouring Madras and Bombay States in many centres, and volunteers from those camps raided the Mysore area and organised sabotage with view to paralyse the administration. *Pauravani*, a Bangalore journal, was being printed from Hindupur in Anantpur District and circulated in the state. Camps were also organised in other centres in Bellary and Dharwad Districts. The government had no control over hundreds of villages along the border which these volunteers had liberated. In Pavagada taluk, the police station at Tirumany was vacated and the personnel ran away. Volunteers from neighbouring states too flocked to participate in the picketing of government offices and liquor shops, and also in processions. The fear of wielding lathis and firing guns of the police and military did not deter them. It was an unprecedented mass movement in the state and peoples' response appeared to be unending.

At last the Maharaja was forced to yield. It looked as though the government could not function and law and order could not be enforced. He agreed to establish responsible government and also to accede to the Indian Union on 24th September. K. C. Reddy was sworn in as the Chief Minister of the responsible government, consisting of a team of nine, six Congressman and three others, on the 27th of September, 1947. The long-cherished popular demand was thus fulfilled. (Reddy continued till 1952 when K. Hanumanthiah displaced him).

The Hyderabad Karnataka area could be merged with the Union only after the police action of 1948. Ramananda Tirtha, a Kannadiga and the President of State Congress of Hyderabad, gave good leadership to the people in their fight for freedom and against the repressive rule of the Nizam and the atrocities of the Razakars. Here too people had to organise border camps and fight with the Razakars for over one year.

The freedom movement united the Indian society into a single unit. Caste feelings were forgotten except for the separatist tendencies fanned by the Muslim League. Untouchables came to be treated better. This was true of Karnataka too. Gandhiji toured the state twice, once in 1934 and again in 1936 to collect funds for his mission to help the untouchables. Leaders like Tagadur Ramachandra Rao (Mysore), Karnad Sadasiva Rao (Mangalore), Sardar Virangauda Patil (Hubli), Kaka Karkhanis (Bijapur), H. C. Dasappa (Mysore), T. B. Keshava Rao (Bellary), Ramakrishna Prabhu and Ananta Rao Katkol (both from Belgaum) rendered yeoman service for the betterment of the lot of the untouchables. Propagating against the practising of untouchability, facilitating temple entry of Harijans, opening schools for them and training them in respectable professions were some of the programmes undertaken.

Kannada writers like Tippayya Master, Bendre, Khanolkar, Shivarama Karanth, S. N. Holla, Betageri Ghanekar, Gorur,

Dinakara Desai, Burli, D. K. Bharadwaj and Tirumale Rajamma also wielded their pen in favour of the movement.

Service rendered by journalists like M. Venkatakrishnayya, Mudvidu Krishnarao ('Karnataka Vritta'), Dr. Diwaker ('Karmavira'), H. K. Viranna Gouda ('Chitragupta'), B. N. Gupta ('Prajamata'), Agaram Rangayya ('Sadhvi'), P. R. Ramayya ('Tainadu'), T.T. Sarma ('Visvakarnataka'), Mehare ('Samyukta Karnataka'), L. S. Patil ('Taruna Karnataka'), Srinivasarao Mangalvede ('Kannadiga'), Narasimha Shanbhag ('Kaanada Vritta'), A. B. Shetty ('Navayuga'), P. Belliyappa ('Kodagu'), T.B. Kesavarao ('Navabharata'), Sitarama Sastry ('Virakesari') and Gopalrao Deshpande ('Sandesha') during the movement have to be also taken note of.

Women also participated on large scale in the movement. They braved police lathis and bullets, courted arrest and underwent all sorts of atrocities in jail. Mention must be made of Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Umabai Cundapur, Krishnabai Panjekar, Ballari Siddamma, Yasodharamma Dasappa, Gauramma Venkateramayya and Jayalakshmi Keshavarao (of Bellary). The story of the trials, tribulations and heroism of the women of North Kanara during the no-tax campaign has to be written in letters of gold. One woman from Kanagila (Ankola), Tanakkana Bomma, unfurled black flag in front of the Governor of Bombay during his visit to Karwar. This she did amidst heavy police patrol. The freedom movement helped the women to come out in the public, and also their emancipation.

MOVEMENT FOR UNIFICATION

"The workers from Karnataka who stepped on the arena of Indian politics between about 1905-20 saw two dreams; conceived two ideas; had before them two maps: one of free India and the other of Unification of Karnataka" says Dr. Diwaker to express the fact that the freedom movement and

the demand for Unification went hand in hand in Karnataka. The Kannada-speaking people had been divided into 20 administrations. The formation of separate provinces like Assam, Bihar and Orissa on linguistic basis in 1912 when divided Bengal was united into a single unit gave a great fillip to the long-felt demand for the Unification of the Kannada-speaking regions into one administrative unit or province.

In fact, the demand had originated much earlier. The Kannada-speaking people were subjected to 20 administrations, as follows :

- 1) The princely state of Mysore which included the districts of Bangalore, Mysore, Mandya, Kolar, Tumkur, Hassan, Kadur (Chikmagalur), Chitradurga and Shimoga.
- 2) The Madras Presidency, in which the districts of the Nilgiris, South Kanara and Bellary and the taluks of Kollegal, Krishnagiri, Hosur and Madaksira.
- 3) The Bombay Presidency in which the districts of North Kanara, Belgaum, Dharwad and Bijapur and the taluks of South and North Sholapur, Mangalaveda and other neighbouring Kannada territories.
- 4) The territory of Coorg (Kodagu).
- 5) The Hyderabad state in which the districts of Gulbarga, Bidar and Raichur.
- 6) Raibag, Katkol, Torgal and other Kannada territories in the Kolhapur State.
- 7) The state of Sangli and its other possessions like Shahpur, Shirahatti, Tardal etc.
- 8) The state of Miraj with other belongings like Lakshmeshwar.
- 9) The state of Junior Miraj (Budhgaon) and its other territories like Gudageri.
- 10) Kurundwad Senior.
- 11) Kurundwad Junior or Vadgaon (near Belgaum).

- 12) The state of Jamkhandi with Kundagol.
- 13) The state of Mudhol.
- 14) The state of Jatt.
- 15) The state of Akkalakot.
- 16) Gunadal (near Bijapur) belonging to the Aundh state.
- 17) The states of Ramadurga.
- 18) Sondur.
- 19) Savanur, and
- 20) The Cantonments of Belgaum, Bangalore and Bellary under the Central Government.

In states like Kolhapur, there were smaller "autonomous" jahgirs like Torgal, and similarly Koppal was a jahgir in Hyderabad state.

If one is to draw a map with a colour for each unit, it will be really a kaleidoscopic one. The railway line from Poona to Bangalore passed through as many as eight administrations. Jamakhandi and Kundagol, though they belonged to a single administration, lay nearly 100 miles apart from each other. So were Shirahatti and Sangli, Katkol and Kolhapur, Gudageri and Budhgaon to mention only a few examples.

The misery of the Kannada-speaking people scattered in these various administrative units were unaccountable. In the presidency of Bombay the medium of instruction at schools and the language of local administration had been only Marathi. Educationists like Deputy Chennabasappa had to start a movement for Kannada medium at schools in that area as early as in 1860s. In purely Kannada-speaking areas ruled by Maratha princes like Mudhol or Jamakhandi, Kannada had no place in the public life including schools and offices. In certain Kannada areas like Jatt, Akkalkot and Sangli, Kannada has almost vanished due to their subjection to Marathi princes. Similarly, in Hyderabad state, Urdu dominated both at schools and Government offices and Kannada had been reduced to the position of only a spoken language.

In presidencies like Bombay or Madras the Kannada regions did not receive their due share of financial aid for the various developmental activities. In the total population of the Bombay Presidency, 1.11 crore people spoke Marathi, 49 lakh Gujarati and only 31 lakhs Kannada in 1937. In Madras, 1.85 crores spoke Tamil, 1.77 crores Telugu, 31 lakh Malayali, and only 17 lakh Kannada in the same year. The Kannada-speaking people were in a similar minority in Hyderabad state. In the Central Legislature of India, out of a total 142 members, there was only one Kannada-speaking member, representing the 68 lakh Kannadigas residing in the British Presidencies. Even the Malayalis had four representatives and Sindhis six, though their population was only 31 lakh each. Everywhere the voice of the Kannadiga was a voice in wilderness.

Renaissance in Karnataka had created a wide-spread awakening in the elite. Publication of books on Karnataka's history, the national movement and the literary activities had created a thirst for Independence and also for Unification of the Kannada-speaking regions. As early as in 1903, Benegal Rama Rao delivered a lecture at Dharwad, stressing the need for the Unification of Kannada-speaking regions into a single presidency. Justice S. S. Setlur of Bangalore also made a similar speech at Dharwad in 1906. Alur Venkata Rao inspired by the example of the Bengalis who very strongly and vehemently protested against the partition of Bengal, wrote an article in *Vagbhushana* magazine, demanding Unification in 1907. The holding of all-Karnataka writers' conference at Dharwad in 1907 and 1908 by him strengthened the demand. The Karnataka Sahitya Parishat founded at Bangalore in 1915 under the patronage of the Mysore ruler helped the movement to gain momentum. The annual literary conferences organised by it helped the intellectuals to come together and voice their demand for Unification. Initially, Unification was a movement fostered by the writers and journalists, and later was taken up by political workers. Tilak organised a Karnataka unit of the Home Rule League in 1916.

The holding of the Karnataka State Political Conference at Dharwad in 1920 under the presidentship of V. P. Madhava Rao was a major event, when a unanimous resolution demanding the Unification of Karnataka was passed. Prior to it, Karnataka Sabha had been founded (1916) at Dharwad with the Unification of Karnataka as its goal. The conference at Dharwad in 1920 gave a call to the Kannada people to participate in the Nagpur Congress session in large numbers. Kadapa Raghavendra Rao from Dharwad toured the whole state and persuaded the people to attend the Nagpur Congress. Nearly 800 delegates from Karnataka went to Nagpur. The Congress at Nagpur agreed to form a separate Congress Committee for Karnataka in 1920. This was a major landmark in the achievement of Unification. "A spate of conferences of an all-Karnataka character, interested in Khadi, Ayurveda, history, industry and commerce, physical culture, journalism and what not were held annually after the emergence of Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. And they testified the need felt for united Karnataka", says S. Nijalingappa, stressing the importance of the formation of the K.P.C.C. in 1920.

The holding of Belgaum Congress in 1924 was also an important step in the Unification movement. The venue of the Congress was called as Vijayanagara and every effort was made to represent the culture and history of Karnataka at the session. The entrance gate was decorated like the tower at Hampi. Great stalwarts of Karnataka music like Vine Seshanna gave their recital at the Congress. The Kannada people had a great occasion to know their leaders and remember their past glory. Huyilagola Narayanarao sang the Kannada anthem "Udayavagali namma cheluva Kannadanadu", he had specially composed during the Belgaum session. The first Karnataka Unification Conference was held at the same venue soon after the Congress. It was presided over by Sir Siddappa Kambli. The Karnataka Ekikarana Sabha was founded at the conference and it held its conferences time and again. A list of such conferences is given below :

	<i>Year</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>President</i>
II	1926	Bellary	T. R. Chikkodi
III	1928	Dharwad	F. G. Halakatti
IV	1929	Belgaum	Ranganatha Mudaliyar
V	1931	Hukkeri	Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
VI	1933	Dharwad	D. V. Belavi
VII	1936	Belgaum	Dr. U. Ramarao
VIII	1940	Sholapur	Dr. R. Nagana Gouda
IX	1944	Dharwad	Jineraja Hegde
X	1946	Bombay	B. G. Kher

The Ekikarana Sabha was later named as Karnataka Ekikarana Sangha. It worked in co-operation with the K. P. C. C. The Hindustani Sevadai conducted a signature campaign in 1926 in favour of Unification, and collected 36,000 signatures. The Nehru Committee in 1928 strongly recommended the formation of Karnataka as a single province. The Congress in its manifesto during the 1937 election, declared itself to be in favour of the formation of Andhra and Karnataka. The Praja Samyukta Paksha in Princely Mysore also passed a resolution in favour of Unification in 1937. At Bangalore, Karnataka Ekikarana Sangha was founded in 1938 with Benagal Rama Rao as the president and B. Shivamurthy Sastry as the secretary. This organisation worked in border areas like Madaksira, Hosur, Kollegal, Nilgiris, Talavadi and Adoni.

But the Unification of Karnataka was not an easy task. Bringing people who were under 20 administrations in a single province had many administrative problems. No prince would part with his territory, nor were the British prepared to merge the districts in their presidencies like Madras and Bombay to form a single Kannada-speaking state under a prince like the Odeyar of Mysore. Was the new state to be a British presidency or a new princely area, was a problem that could not be

easily resolved. Nobody in authority would give serious thought to this problem, as the British were not interested in such demands. They were not the days of democracy, and the demand for Unification, like the demand for Swaraj, fell on deaf ears, however vociferous the people might have been in expressing this demand. But with freedom, Unification could be also achieved; that was the hope of the people.

By the close of 1946 it was almost certain that the British were leaving India, and the Constituent Assembly met in Delhi in December 1946 to frame a new constitution for the country. In view of this, not only the Karnataka Unification Conference had strongly stressed the demand for Unification at its Bombay session, but an all-Karnataka convention was held at Davanagere under the presidentship of M. P. Patil, Revenue Minister of Bombay. Both the meetings urged the Constituent Assembly to take immediate steps to constitute Karnataka into a separate province. The State Legislature of Bombay and Madras also passed resolutions in favour of the formation of linguistic provinces in April 1947. The Karnataka Ekikarana Mahasamiti was founded with S. Nijalingappa as the president and A. J. Dodmeti and Srinivasarao Mangalveda as secretaries. Later, the committee, after five years, was reorganised as Karnataka Ekikarana Sangha under the presidentship of Shantappa Yelamali. A Karnataka Unification Conference was also organised at Kasaragod in December 1947 under the presidentship of R. R. Diwaker.

But the Dhar Commission, appointed by the Central Government did not favour the formation linguistic provinces. This committee came to be severely criticised at the Jaipur Congress in 1948. At Jaipur, the J. V. P. committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was appointed to look into the problem afresh. The K.P.C.C. which met at Harihar in January 1949 under the presidentship of S. Nijalingappa passed a resolution in favour the formation of Karnataka with the Maharaja of Mysore as its Governor.

After the Independence, Kannada-speaking regions were grouped under only five administrations instead of 20, due to the merger of the princely states with the neighbouring provinces. The five units were, Madras and Bombay Presidencies, Coorg and the princely states of Mysore and Hyderabad. The J.V.P. report released in 1949, favoured the formation of Andhra Pradesh only. Still Andhra did not come into existence, and the Kannada people had to continue the agitation for Unification. The Congress declared in its election manifesto of 1951 that formation of linguistic provinces was one of its goals. Karnataka Ekikarana Paksha, a new party was founded prior to the election of 1951, with Unification as its major programme.

Mysore constituted a major Kannada-speaking territory. Many people of this area, who had been under the benevolent rule of the Maharaja were not willing to join with other areas, and were afraid of losing their identity. But the newspapers of Mysore and Kannada writers conducted a ceaseless propaganda. Writers like Gorur Ramaswamy Iyengar conducted a lecture tour. K. V. Puttappa composed inspiring and militant poems. Politicians like K. Hanumantayya and S. Nijalingappa also strived hard to convince the people of princely Mysore about the need and fruitfulness of unification. So did C. M. Punachha Strived in Kodagü.

At the Congress session held at Hyderabad in January 1953 a resolution was passed in favour of formation of only Andhra Pradesh and not other linguistic states. The Chief Minister of Mysore, K. Hanumanthayya strongly opposed the resolution, and supported Unification. Dodmeti inaugurated a hunger-strike in turns at Jakkali (Dharwad District) at the time of the Congress.

After elections, a new aggressive body, Akhanda Karnataka Rajya Nirmana Parishat was founded with K. R. Karanth as its president. It gave a call for a strong agitation and nearly 5,000 people courted arrest in response to its call. Nearly 24

people came to be detained in Bombay Presidency as a result of the agitation. They had to file a writ of habeas corpus in the Supreme Court to secure their release. K. R. Karanth, Jinaraja Hegde, A. J. Dedmeti, Chennappa Vall, Chinmaya-swamy Onkarmath, Virabhadrapa Sirur and Shivamurty Swamy were some of the important leaders of this new party. The fast and death of Potti Sriramulu led to violent agitations in Andhra and the province of Andhra was soon formed. The first step towards Unification was taken when the seven taluks of Bellary were merged with Mysore State together with the formation of Andhra in 1953.

Still Unification did not materialise. At the bye-election held at Dharwad and Hubli for the Bombay Legislature, Congress was defeated and at Hubli the candidate of the Ekikarana Paksha was returned with an overwhelming majority. At a K.P.C.C. meeting held at Hubli during the same period there were unprecedented scenes of violence when a crowd trying to demonstrate in favour of Unification turned turbulent. A Congress worker, Shankaragouda Patil was holding a "fast unto death" at the time of the meeting, near Hubli. Finally Parliament appointed a high-power commission headed by Fazal Ali in December 1953. The Commission submitted its report in which formation of Karnataka was favoured. On November 1, 1956 the new State consisting of following regions, according to the recommendations of the Commission, came into existence :

- 1) Mysore State, including Bellary District ;
- 2) Following regions from Bombay :
 - a) Belgaum District except Chandgad Taluk ; b) The whole of Dharwad, Bijapur and North Kanara Districts ;
- 3) Following areas from Madras :
 - a) South Kanara District except Kasaragod Taluk and the Amindivi Islands ; b) Kollegal Taluk of Coimbatore District ;

- 4) The whole of Kodagu ;**
- 5) Following areas from the Hyderabad State :**
 - a) Gulbarga District except Kodangal and Tandur Taluks ; b) Raichur District except Alampur and Gadval Taluks ; c) Bidar, Bhalki, Aurad and Humnabad Taluks from Bidar District.**

The new State was named as New Mysore and the Maharaja of Mysore was appointed its Governor. This unified State was renamed as Karnataka on 1st November 1973, 17 years after the Unification.

EPILOGUE

The present State of Karnataka has a total area of 73,991 square miles and a population of over 3 crores. For administrative purpose the State is divided into 19 districts, and each district is looked after by a Deputy Commissioner under whom are Tahsildars in charge of taluks. The Deputy Commissioner is the pivot of administration and he looks after the general administration of the district, which includes maintenance of law and order, and he is also responsible for collection of land revenue.

The Governor is the head of administration, assisted by a cabinet selected from the legislature which is bicameral. The upper house or Vidhana Parishattu has 63 members; of whom 21 are elected by the lower house, 21 by local bodies, six by registered graduates, six by teachers and nine are nominated. The term of a member is six years, and one-third of the members retire once in two years. The lower house (Vidhana Sabha) has 218 members, of whom two are nominated, and the rest are elected by adult franchise once in five years.

The Chief Minister is the *de facto* head of administration, and is the leader of the party having majority in the lower house. S. Nijalingappa became the Chief Minister when Karnataka was united in 1956, and he was later followed in the post by B. D. Jatti (from May 1958) and S. R. Kanthi (March, 1962); and he resumed the position again in June 1962. In May 1968, Virendra Patil succeeded S. Nijalingappa. But the Patil Ministry resigned in March 1971, and after a one-year term of President's rule, Devaraj Urs became the Chief Minister in March 1972. Though Urs came back to power in February 1978 after the Assembly poll, he came out of the Indira Congress in June 1979 and he had to resign Chief Ministership in January 1980 when his party was

routed in Parliamentary elections and there was wholesale defection of legislators from his Party. R. Gundu Rao assumed Chief Ministership in January 1980.

Society : Isolation of villages has ended, thanks to the roads, railways and the Post and Telegraphs. Bicycles are the means of communication to many villages which have no motorable roads. Newspaper and radio take new thoughts to each and every village. Agriculture is the chief means of livelihood for the villagers. The increase of hotels in towns has given rise to increased demand for milk, and villagers have found dairying a profitable occupation. Growing of cash crops like cotton, oil seeds, mulberry and sugarcane is on the increase, thanks to industrialisation. Joint families are fast breaking up. Few people in the villages follow their hereditary professions, except perhaps the barber, carpenter or potter. Even among them, there has been a tendency to go for white-collared, at times even less remunerative, jobs. The so-called old-time higher castes do not wield the same influence in the village community that they did formerly, though the village astrologer is respected. The hereditary *patel* and *shanbhag* is displaced by the newly appointed *talati*, and the influential position of these former hereditary officials is taken by the elective chairman of the village panchayat, or that of the co-operative society.

The old hand-grinder and the pestle are on the way out, and every village is served with mechanic flour and rice mills, and also with their gruelling monotonous noise. Child marriage and untouchability linger on in villages, and even to-day a Harijan is prevented from entering temples or taking water from the public well in a considerable number of villages. Caste feelings are still strong ; they have been perhaps revived after the introduction of parliamentary democracy and by job reservation policy. Elections spur these feelings, for with office go the spoils.

Urbanisation has been on the increase, and in every village, or in a town, a new and a rather exclusive, white-collared middle class is emerging.

Women in towns enjoy more freedom than their sisters in villages, and they compete with men in offices and factories. Village women secure divorce and also remarry more easily than those from towns. Dowry is still popular, despite a legal ban on it. Undivided families are rather rare in urban areas. Religious functions and ceremonies are held with greater pomp and fanfare than before, and public celebration of Rama Navami and Ganesha festival are on the increase.

Literature: Kannada literature has developed on lines with the Western literature. Modern forms like short story, novel, lyric poetry, drama, travelogue, essay and literary - criticisms have developed. Secular themes are more popular. Kannada literature has had the romantic age, and new movements like the 'Progressive' and the 'Modernist'. Of late there is the *Dalita* (on the down trodden) and *Bandaya* (rebel) movements too.

B. M. Srikanthiah's 'English Gitegalu' (1921) was followed by similar lyric poems of P. T. Narasimhachar, K. V. Puttappa, Bendre, Rajaratnam, D. V. Gundappa, Gokak, V. Sitaramaiah and Govinda Pai. Pai started a new tradition by discarding the rhyme (1911). Bendre and Puttappa have received the Jnanapitha Award, the most coveted prize in modern India. K. V. Puttappa wrote 'Ramayana Darshana' an epic poem. There are renowned poets of the next generation like Gopalakrishna Adiga, Dinakara Desai, Kanavi, K. K. Rai, K. S. Narasimha Swamy, (of 'Mysore Mallige' fame) and G. S. Shivarudrappa. Adiga led the Modernist school.

Panje, Masti, Ananda, Anandakanda, M. N. Kamath, K. Gopalakrishna Rao, Krishnakumar Kallur, Bharatipriya and M. V. Sitaramiah were some of the short story writers who adapted modern techniques in Kannada. Novel also became popular, and continues to be the most popular form. Their

writing began with the Renaissance, and Shivarama Karanth and A. N. Krishnarao became the most celebrated novelists in Kannada. The former's 'Chomana Dudi' and 'Maralimannige', and the latter's 'Sandhyaraga' and 'Kanniru' are the most famous novels. Karanth has secured the Jnanapitha award. T. R. Subbarao, Niranjana, Korati, Kattlmani, Inamdar, Mirji Annareo, Krishnamurti Puranik, and S. L. Bhairappa are some of the noted novelists in Kannada. There are popular lady novelists like Triveni, Indira, and Anupama.

Modern plays, influenced by the writings of Ibsen and Shaw, also came to be written, and T. P. Kailasam is the pioneer in the field. Depicting the facets of middle class life and by using the colloquial Kannada, he thrilled his readers and audience by his humour, pathos and realism. 'Sule', 'Telikattok Kuline', and 'Gandaskatri' are some of his celebrated works. Sriranga is another playwright in Kannada, who is dominating the scene for over four decades by his revolutionary themes and techniques. Parvatavani, Kshirasagara, C. Sadashivaiah and Lakshmanrao Bendre are some other noted playwrights.

Essay has been another popular form, and the Kannada writers had essayists like Dickens or Lamb as their models. A. N. Murtirao, Gorur, N. Kasturi and Karanth were some of the early humourist writers in Kannada, followed by Nadiger, Bichi, N. K. Kulkarni, Langulacharya and a host of others. 'Nagenandana' and 'Suhasa' are two representative collections of humourist writings in Kannada.

Travelogues are becoming popular of late. Gokak, K. L. Kamat and Naveratna Ram have written some fine travelogues. Though there have been few autobiographies there is a rich crop of biographies. Space does not permit the discussion of other aspects of literary growth, which is rich and variegated.

The 1940s saw the development of Progressive School in Kannada literature, and it was influenced by Marxian thought,

Niranjana and Kattimani were two stalwarts of the school. Kittimani's novel 'Jwalamukhiyamele' and Niranjana's 'Chira-smarane' won the Soviet Land Award.

Of late there has grown the Modernist school, which "does not care for the traditional values", and it is "searching for values". It has shown "novelty in the use of language and symbolism". Gopalakrishna Adiga began this new experiment in poetry, continued by Ramachandra Sharma, P. Lankesh, K. V. Rajagopala, Tejasvi, N. S. L. Bhatta, Nisar Ahmed and Chandrashekhara Kambar. Novels (like U. R. Anantamurti's 'Samskara'), short stories and plays are also written following this trend. Special mention must be made of Girish Karnad and Chandrashekhara Patil among the playwrights, though P. Lankesh and Kambar have also used this medium successfully. To make the voice of depressed classes felt, *Dalita* school has emerged. Devanur Mahadeva and Siddalingayya are its leaders. There is also *Bandaya* literature working on similar lines.

Though Kannada literature has made substantial progress, and reckorable contributions have been made by Kannada writers, readership in Kannada is poor. Not many people are accustomed to buy books in Kannada. Only a few writers in Kannada have made this faculty the only means of earning their livelihood.

Renaissance also saw the beginning of Kannada journalism. Reference has already been made to newspapers in Kannada while discussing freedom movement. Mohare, Divakar, T. T. Sharma, B. N. Gupta, Virakesari Sitarama Sastry, Agaram Rangayya and V.S. Kudva were some of the eminent journalists of the pre-Independence period. Newspapers helped the spread of modern and scientific ideas. They not only helped the propagation of democratic and liberal ideas, but also served the movements for Freedom and Unification. They carried on propaganda in favour of social changes by conducting a crusade against caste feelings, child marriage and

untouchability. They helped literary growth and popularised fine arts. Mention must be made of *Samyukta Karnataka*, *Prajavani* (1948), *Kannadaprabha* (1967), *Navabharata*, *Udayavani* and *Vishvavani* dailies, *Prajamata*, *Karmavira*, *Sudha* and *Janapragati* weeklies, and *Kasturi*, *Utthana*, *Mayura* and *Tushara* monthlies, which are the most notable. There are papers published in English, Urdu, Tamil, Marathi and Konkani from Karnataka. The *Deccan Herald* (1948), *Indian Express* (1965) and *The Hindu* are English dailies from Bangalore.

Cultural Progress: Growth in the fields of music, stage and art during the Renaissance was substantial. The later decades witnessed the appearance of films, a new medium, and novel developments were witnessed in other fields too in continuation of the trends of the Renaissance days.

Both the systems of Indian music, Hindustani and Karnataka, flourished in the State. Among the artistes of Hindustani style, mention must be made of Panchakshari Gavayi, Puttaraja Gavayi, Mansur, Rajaguru, Karnataki, Gangubai Hanagal, Sheshadri Gavayi, Bhimasen Joshi and Ramerao Nayak. All these are vocalists. The Mysore Palace continued its patronage to artists and T. Chaudiah, noted violinist and B. Devendrappa are a connecting link between Renaissance and the present. Tirumale Rajamma, L. Rajarao, Nilamma Kadambi, Doreswamy Ayyangar and V. N. Rao are among the renowned vainikas. Of the vocalists, mention must be made of Titte Krishna Iyengar, Chintalapalli, R. K. Srikanthan, A. Subbarao, G. Channamma and B. S. Rajayyengar. Gana Kala Parishat and Gayana Samaja of Bangalore are two organisations which render yeoman service to the field. The All India Radio, the films and the public festivals like Rama Navami patronise artistes.

Of the celebrated classical dancers of Karnataka, Jattitayamma, Kolara Kittappa, Venkatalakshmamma, Maya Rao, Santa Rao, U. S. Krishnarao and Chandrabhagadevi are the

prominent. But dance is not so popular as music in the State due to a variety of reasons. Cheap performances have stolen the thunder from the classicists, an unfortunate development. Yakshagana is popular in the coast and Malenadu, and Karanth has rendered yoman service to further this popular medium. Rich temples like those of Dharmasthala etc., continue to patronise this art.

Professional stage appears to be on the decline, as it finds it difficult to compete with films. Only major troupe in Old Mysore is Hirannayya Mitramandali, run by the noted artist, Master Hirannayya though there had been many drama companies like those of Gubbi Viranna, Subbayya Naidu, Hirannayya, Mohammed Pir, Halageri Jattappa, Hulimane and many earlier ones, contemporaneous with A. V. Varadachar of the Renaissance days. There had been an exclusive troupe of women headed by Nagaratnamma. There have been also celebrated lady artists like Lakshmibai, Malavalli Sundaramma and Jayamma. In North Karnataka there are still many troupes. Of these, Kalavaibhava Nataka Sangha of Enagi Balappa and the Chittargi Company are the notable. Though only mythological and historical themes were popular during the Renaissance period, social plays came to be enacted more and more during the succeeding decades. But the story of the amateur theatre is one of "real thrill and adventure". T. Raghava from Bellari, T. P. Kailasam, Sriranga, Parvatavani and Bendre Lakshmanarao are products of this field. Of late, Girish Karnad, B. V. Karanth and Chandrashekara Kambur have also made a name in amateur theatre by following the Modernist trends. Setting, decor and costumes have been strictly subordinated to meaning in this new "experimental" stage and Ravindra Kalakshetra of Bangalore has been a major centre of histrionic experiments. Karnad, B. V. Karanth and Sriranga have secured all-India renown for their talents in the field.

The Kannada stage of the Renaissance days has found its projection in films, and the earliest films in Kannada were the screening of some of the popular dramas themselves. 'Sati

Sulochana', filmed at Kolhapur¹ was the first talkie in Kannada (1934), followed by *Saderame* (1935) and *Rajasuyayaga* (1937). *Vasantasara* and 'Harischandra' produced during the 1940s demonstrated the maturity of the Kannada movieland. Over 600 films have been produced in Kannada by now. Noted artists like R. Nagendra Rao, M. V. Rajamma, Pandaribai Rajakumar and Kalpana have enriched the film world as actors. Karnad (whose *Samskara* won President's Gold Medal for 1971), Kanagal Puttanna, N. Lakshminarayan and Siddalingayya have been talented directors that have won laurels to the Kannada film world. B. V. Karanth's *Chomanadudi* and Girish Kaseravalli's *Ghatashraddha* have won top national awards recently.

Painting and sculpture have also progressed in Karnataka. Newspapers and business firms patronise artists. Minajigi at Hubli, Akki at Gadag, A. N. Subbarao, Nanjundarao, M. T. V. Acharya and Hadapad at Bangalore train artists at their schools, in addition to the Chamarajendra School of Arts at Mysore. K. K. Hebbar, Inamati, Rumale, R. S. Neidu, P. R. Tippeswamy and G. S. Shenoy are some of the enthusiastic protagonists of the drawn art.

Great has been the past of Karnataka. Our ancients were great empire builders and administrators. Karnataka saw eminent religious men like Basava, Madhwa and Vidyaranya. Equally great were our poets like Somadeva, Pampa and Kumara Vyasa. In our own times we had eminent man like Sir M. Visveshwarayya, C. V. Raman, Shama Shastry, T. Chaudayya, Karanth and K. V. Puttappa.

Still Karnataka is economically backward. We are the fifth in per capita income (Rs. 1045 in 1978-79) among the Indian States (Punjab being the first). Industrially too, though we are an advanced state, nearly 70% of our population still depends on agriculture. This should change. A study of our history must help us to develop a deeper love for our state and inspire us to work hard and to build up a state prosperous, both economically and culturally.

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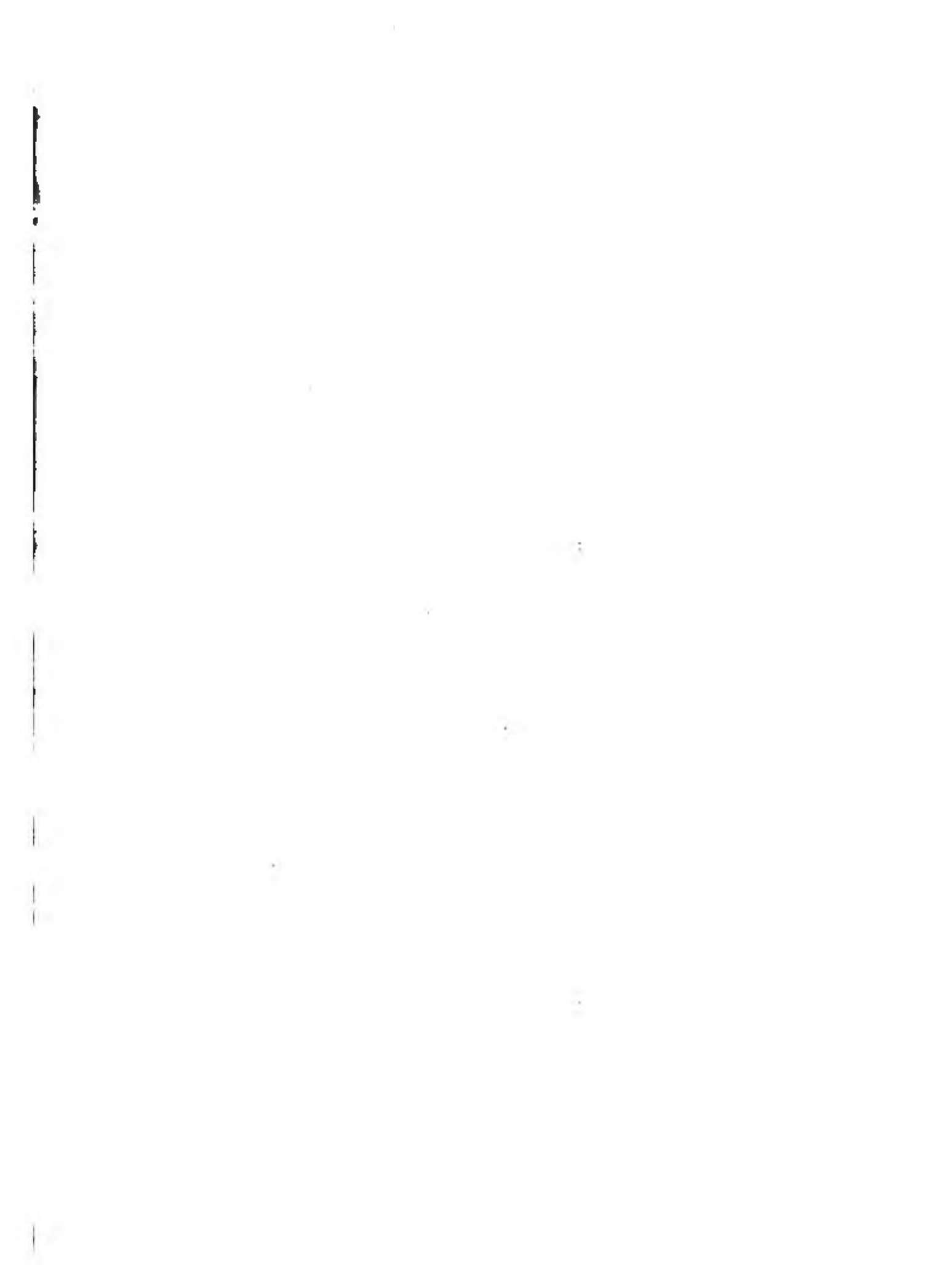
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Appendix : A CHRONOLOGY OF MAIN EVENTS

From c.	30 B.C. to 300 A.D.	Rule of the Shatavahanas
c.	350 A.D. to 550 A.D.	The Kadambas of Banavasi
c.	350 A.D. to 999 A.D.	The Gangas
c.	500 to 753	The Badami Chalukyas
	753 to 973	The Rashtrakutas
	973 to 1189	The Kalyana Chalukyas
	1162 to 1183	The Kalachuri Interregnum
c.	1006 to 1346	The Hoysalas
c.	850 to 1318	The Seunas (Yadavas)
	1336 to 1646	The Vijayanagara Empire
	1347 to 1527	The Bahmani Sultans
	1489 to 1686	The Adilshahis of Bijapur
	1500 to 1763	The Keladi Nayakas
c.	1399 to 1947	The Mysore Odeyars
c.	450	The Halmidi Record (first Kannada inscription?)
	578	Vaishnava cave at Badami
	609	Pulakeshin II crowned
	814	Amoghavarsha crowned
	941	Pampa completed <i>Adipurana</i>
c.	982	Installation of Gomata at Shravanabelagola
	1076	Vikramaditya VI crowned Chalukya Vikrama Era begun
	1112	Itage Mahadeva Temple completed
	1116	Beluru Temple completed
	1168	Basaveshwara passes away
	1190	Battle of Soraturu
	1317	Malik Kafur attacked Dwarasamudra
	1238-1317	Life of Madhwacharya
	1367	Jami Masjid of Gulbarga completed
	1397	Feroze Bahmani crowned
	1424	Devaraya II crowned
	1509	Krishnadevaraya crowned
	1565	The Battle of Rakkasatangadi

1580	Ibrahim II crowned
1626	Ibrahim Rouza completed
1687	Bangalore secured by Chikkadevaraya
1782	Tipu crowned
1799	Tipu killed; Mysore became a British tributary
1817	First Kannada book, <i>Grammar of the Kurnata Language</i> , printed at Srirampur (Bengal)
1824	Uprising of Kittur
1831	Annexation of Mysore
1834	Annexation of Kodagu
1843	First Kannada Newspaper, <i>Mangalura Samachara</i> started
1857-8	Uprising at Halagali, Surapura and Naragunda
1864	First railway line of Karnataka (Bangalore-Madras) opened
1864	First College of Karnataka at Bangalore, opened (named as Central College in 1875)
1881	Rendition of Mysore; Rep. Assembly started
1886	Karnataka Bhashojjeevani Sabha at Mysore
1890	Karnataka Vidyavardhaka Sangha at Dharwada
1902	Power production started at Shivanasamudra
1915	Karnataka Sahithya Parishattu founded
1916	Mysore University begun
1920	First Karnataka Political Conference at Dharwad; K.P.C.C. formed
1924	Belgaum Congress
1937	"Mysore Congress" started
1938	Shivapura session of Mysore Congress; Flag Sathyagraha launched
1947	India became free; "Mysore Chalo" movement
1956	Unification of Karnataka
1973	'Karnataka' named officially





Dr. Suryanath Upendra Kamath (1937) has been a noted authority on Karnataka history. Engaged in teaching history in Bangalore University for the present, he did his M.A. from Karnataka University (1959) when he had eminent teachers like Dr. B. A. Saletore and Dr. G. S. Dikshit. He secured his Ph D from Bombay University (1965) while working as a journalist in the daily *Free Press Journal*. He had his innings in Kannada journalism too, and he has four novels and several other creative works in Kannada to his credit. He has published nearly 50 research papers and over a dozen academic works, both in Kannada and English. His *magnum opus* in Kannada, *Swatantrya Sangramada Smritigalu* containing over 800 reminiscences of freedom fighters from Karnataka runs into three volumes and over 3200 pages. *Karnataka : A Handbook and Studies in Indian Culture* (joint work) are his other English works.

He won the Bangalore University Research Award in history in 1976 for his Kannada monograph on John Fleet. The present work is a revised and enlarged English version of his Kannada book, *Karnatakada Sankshipta Itihasa*, which had secured him the I prize for humanities of the State Sahitya Akademy in 1973; that work is also undergoing its fourth edition. He has been editing the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (1909) from 1977.